# Daily Report

# East Europe

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Tuesday
8 December 1992

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*FBIS-EEU-92-236* 8 December 1992

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## Butrus-Ghali Says Bosnian Resolutions Unfulfilled

*LD0712225192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2217 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] New York, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said on Monday [7 December] that nearly none of the demands from many U.N. resolutions on the crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was fulfilled.

In a report submitted to the U.N. General Assembly, Ghali said the demands on the withdrawal of "foreign" troops from the war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina were also not met.

The "blue helmet" troops have reliable reports on the engagement of several brigades of the Croatian Army in the battles in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said the report.

Over 50,000 troops of Croatia's regular Army fight on the side of Bosnian Croats and Moslems against local Serbs, in the civil, ethnic and religious war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Ghali invoked some press reports, saying that foreign nationals also participate in the fighting on the Moslem-Croat side.

The Bosnian Serb forces are allegedly "still supplied by or receive help from some elements from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," said the report.

In the section of the report devoted to the human rights violations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Ghali said that all the three sides in the conflict were both offenders and victims, but stressed the position of the Moslem population as particularly tragic.

He said human rights would be violated also after the war, because of intensive mutual untrust and hatred.

According to the report, 10,273 captured and arrested people were reported at 41 locations until late October—8,046 held by Serbs, 988 by Croats and 1,239 by Moslems.

Some 3,000 people were released before November 20, of whom 2,550 freed by Serbs, 350 by Croats and 26 by Moslems, said the report adding that the number of detainees was probably much higher. However, it said, observers are unable to obtain more information because being prevented from inspection either by battles or local authorities. The additional problem is that the "third countries" do not want to receive more detainees, said the report.

A 434 million dollar humanitarian aid which the U.N. secretary-general appealed for this summer proved insufficient for a growing number of the needy, Ghali said adding that another 100 million dollars should be gathered.

According to some estimates, 3,042,000 people were forced to leave their homes in the former Yugoslavia.

The distribution of humanitarian supplies requires the deployment of more peace-keeping troops which would protect humanitarian convoys, Ghali set out.

He said he was asked by the Security Council to examine the possibility of creating "security zones" in Bosnia-Hercegovina. however, he did not elaborate on the issue.

The report outlined everything that the Security Council had so far done in connection with the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but failed to suggest any further moves.

## NATO Examining Ways To Prevent Spread of War

*LD0712182492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 7 Dec 92*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—The United States and some of its allies are considering new steps to prevent the Yugoslav conflict from spreading to Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija.

"I have clear indications that there is very serious consideration going on in the United States to prevent a spillover of the Yugoslav conflict into Kosovo," a senior NATO official, who asked not to be identified, told reporters in Brussels on Monday [7 December], REUTERS reports.

REUTERS also reports that a threat of war soon spreading in the rest of the Balkans will be on the agenda of the meeting of NATO defense ministers scheduled for this week, which is to be followed by a meeting of foreign ministers of NATO countries next week.

Lord Owen, cochairman of the Geneva peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, visited NATO headquarters in Brussels last Friday, and warned that war could soon spread in the Balkans. NATO sources said that Owen singled out Kosovo as the next likely location.

According to the NATO official, Albanian President Sali Berisha is scheduled to visit NATO headquarters on December 16, where he is to discuss the issue of Kosovo.

A separatist movement demanding secession of the province of Kosovo from Serbian and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its unification with Albania is active in Kosovo, where about 90 percent of the population are ethnic Albanians.

The international community's stand is that Kosovo is a part of Yugoslavia which should be granted a special status. Recently, Berisha has called on the West several times to "bombard Belgrade," which resulted in FR [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia sending a protest note to Tirana, while Moscow publicly condemned such steps by Albania.

## Berisha Assesses Saudi Arabia, Egypt Visits

*AU0512160792 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 5 Dec 92*

["Interview With President of the Republic Sali Berisha After His Return Home From Saudi Arabia"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 5 (ATA)—On December 4 the president of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Sali Berisha, returned home after his visit to Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

At Rinas Airport, Mr. Berisha granted an interview to the Albanian Television.

In Jeddah I joined the 6th extraordinary session devoted to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I had the chance to be a representative of and witness to a great historic event for the Albanian people and Albania. I am sure that Albania's membership in this conference will provide the Albanian policy, Albania and the Albanians with another dimension they carried in themselves but which will unfold it now. This is the great dimension of unification, relation between the Western world and the Islamic one, between the Western civilisation and Islamic culture. If we have a look at the composition of our people, Albania is the only country in which the three religious communities: Moslem, Catholic, and Orthodox, live in peace and harmony, which proves that the great spiritual values, despite the origin, can be harmonized in an excellent way, just as they are harmonized in Albania, too.

I uphold that the Albanian politicians are duty bound to unfold this value, to utilize it in service of Albania, in the interest of the region. The membership in this conference also links Albania with the big group of countries with which it maintains strong historic, political, economic, spiritual, cultural, and all round links, which love Albania and are its friends and brothers. I also want to say that the Islamic conference broadens its universal character with Albania's membership. It assumes an European dimension, which is important both for it and the Europe itself. I reiterate that this act will pose no danger or threat to any country. On the other hand, I reaffirm that Albania, as a laic country, as a parliamentary republic, becomes member of the Islamic conference, and as such it will observe all the documentation of this conference, which does not run counter to the Constitution of Albania. I also want to say that over my stay to Saudi Arabia, the talks have been open and fraternal. I met with a full predisposition on the part of His Majesty King Fahd and Government of Saudi Arabia, Saudi businessmen, to develop a close cooperation with Albania, to help our country gain ground.

I want to say that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, that is, with a very developed state, was also a special delight. On the other hand, it should give a speciai satisfaction to the Albanians, because it marked the end of the Hoxhian diplomacy, which, for 50 years on end has declared the U.S.A., the Vatican, and Saudi Arabia as the sworn enemies of Marxist Albania. I am very happy the three of them are big friends, allies of Albania.

On my way back from Saudi Arabia, President Mubarak invited me for a friendly and working visit. In our talk we concentrated on the relations between Albania and Egypt and their development.

I would like to say that I found the Egyptian Government involved in a vigorous work. It was working to prepare the agreements for a really important cooperation between Egypt and Albania. Egypt, despite its own economic difficulties, is a country which has a reliable progressive and economic development. We are sure that a close cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture, textiles, and some other fields of common interest will develop soon. The Egyptian Government is also ready to provide financial support to Albania. The premier and President Mubarak will insist that Egyptian businessmen come and invest in Albania. At a tete-a-tete talk with President Mubarak, we discussed the situation in the region. I briefed him on the efforts of Albania and of all Albanian political forces to prevent crisis. I assured him that the Albanians, wherever they are, are not striving for a big Albania, as an ill-intentional Albanian politician might propagate while travelling round Europe and the world. They are fighting for a democratic Albania. It is a fact that they are members of the Macedonian Government, the Albanians in Kosovo have expressed their constant desire for negotiations, in Albania they accepted the international observers and are cooperating with the NATO command to control embargo and are ready to develop all forms of cooperation with it.

Despite the complex situation, we expressed once again to President Mubarak our determination to work patiently to maintain peace and stability in the region, to prevent conflict in Kosovo, which would be equal to a Balkan war. In my opinion there was full understanding on all issues in the negotiations with President Mubarak.

In regard to the attitude of Islamic conference to the current crisis in Yugoslavia, President Berisha said:

I uphold that the Islamic conference did not create a particular road. It was wise act on the part of the organizers of the conference, who included the whole activity of the conference and the resolution in the context of the resolution of the UN and Security Council.

The conference was in favour of lifting the embargo on Bosnia of sending UN troops to Kosovo, just as in Macedonia, and to this end it also fixed the dates which are indispensable. In fact this is a necessary practice also for the UN Security Council. Unless dates and schedules are set, the situation deteriorates further.

In closing President Berisha said: I returned determined and sure that the relations between Albania and Saudi

Arabia, Albania and Egypt, Albania and other members of this conference will experience a fresh development.

### Berisha Received With Respect

*AU0512201292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 5 Dec 92*

[Text] Concerning today's article in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, which insists that President Berisha was not received in Egypt with relevant honors, the president's spokesman confirms that during both visits to Slovenia and Egypt, President Berisha was received by his counterparts with all the respect, honors, and measures reserved for the heads of states during their visits. It should be known, however, that the traditional protocol of many states anticipates the reception of the heads of states in the presidential residency for invited presidents.

Intentionally ignoring this fact, the anonymous author of the ZERI I POPULLIT article expresses nothing but his political delinquency and lack of press ethics and complete civil respect for the state and its highest-level representatives.

This article intended to distort the opinions of citizens concerning the strengthening of bilateral relations between Albania and Egypt and Slovenia, which for the first time during recent visits have been raised to the levels they should be.

### Democratic Council Discusses Reform Problems

*AU0512164292 Tirana ATA in English 1117 GMT 5 Dec 92*

[Text] Tirana, December 5 (ATA)—Economic reform has not been simply economic but also a political and mentality reform, the Minister of Economy and Finances Genc Ruli said.

In a discussion on December 4 at the National Council of Democratic Party, he made an analysis of the development of the reform until now.

First, we worked to freeze the budgetary deficit and we have realized this objective. We also have spent great funds in the social aspect of the society completely excluding the peasantry from the taxes, etc., he said.

Mr. Ruli presented a fundamental platform on the 1993 reform, of which he expressed optimism. He based this optimism on the stabilisation of the macro-economy, privatisation, legislation, and the foreign countries aid in creating a mentality favouring the reform.

The government has also demanded the aid of the parliament regarding the resistance encountered in the field of privatisation of the medium and big enterprises, using all the forms of possible privatisation, Albanian Premier Aleksander Meksi stated at this meeting.

In the meeting organized mainly on the development of the reform, Mr. Meksi treated of important problems dealing with the medium and long-term privatization, dwelling on the specific peculiarities of each economic sector. He also dwelt on problems of restructuring and problems of respective legislation.

Mr. Meksi said that he and his government will work unreservingly in the direction of privatisation, its speedy development to attain the required results. He dwelt on aspects of the administrative reform, the administrative structure.

We, he said, have demanded the help of the foreign specialists in order to create a modern administration with people enjoying the status of the employee.

We as a Democratic Party and our parliamentary group have launched a demand to the Presidency of the People's Assembly that, based on the Electoral Law to ensure us the number of 92 votes in this parliament emerging from March 22 elections, as six deputies, former members of the Democratic Party parliamentary group have withdrawn from it also violating the deputy's declaration, Mr. Eduard Selami, chairman of the Democratic Party, stated at a meeting of the National Council of the Democratic Party.

The problem of the six deputies withdrawn from the party earlier and later founders of the new Democratic Alliance Party is a problem extensively treated of by the Albanian mass media.

All of them are deputies normally elected, according to the majority system applied in the election of 100 deputies out of 140 ones, which makes up the total number. They also are names of the list, envisaged for the proportional system, of the Democratic Party list.

## Boyadzhiev To Meet Parties on Forming Cabinet

*AU0712195292 Sofia BTA in English 1828 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—The programme declaration of the prime minister-designate nominated by the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party (BSP), Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, is ready, it was announced at a news conference today. The declaration is 16 pages long. Mr. Boyadzhiev's seven-day term for forming a cabinet expires on Wednesday [9 December]. For the time being his chances for success are slim.

Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev intends to meet the parliamentary groups of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) tomorrow. According to preliminary information, the SDS does not wish to meet with the prime minister-designate of the Socialists. The DPS has not taken an official stand yet but in his first statement its leader, Ahmed Dogan, called the Socialists' prime minister-designate a fraud and a man travestying the idea of the BSP for a cabinet of national consensus.

So far it was believed that Petur Boyadzhiev will receive the support of the entire parliamentary group of the BSP. But today the BTA correspondent in Plovdiv reported that the Christian Republican Party has decided to leave the coalition of the Socialists. "In the present political crisis we insist on making it known that we have nothing to do with the reckless policy of the BSP for forming a cabinet. As a party of subsiding functions the BSP does not have the right to deceive the voters that it can be a ruling force - alone or in any coalition whatsoever," it is pointed out in the official stand of the Christian Republicans. The Christian Republican Party claims that the parties in the campaign alliance of the BSP, set up in the summer of 1991, were used for imparting a "coalition tinge" to the top leadership of the BSP. The Christian Republicans accuse the BSP of communization.

According to the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Democratic Center, the mandate of the BSP is doomed to failure. The leaders of the extraparliamentary Social Democratic Party declared today that the persisting efforts for the realization of the mandate of the BSP are an attempt at establishing a coalition cabinet.

## Democratic Center Rejects Boyadzhiev's Candidacy

*AU0712185492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] The Bulgarian Democratic Center [BDC] will not participate in a cabinet formed under the mandate of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. This was announced by the center's spokesman Stilyan Stoychev at a news conference today.

Luchezar Stoyanov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party, expressed his convinction that the BSP mandate is doomed to failure under the present composition of parliament. He announced that his party's Executive Committee is conducting negotiations for the party's alliance with the Union of Democratic Forces coalition.

## Boyadzhiev Meets Officers Legion Leaders

*AU0712185092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Petur Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister, met the leaderships of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers' Legion Confederation and of the Union of Reserve Officers and Sergeants, in Sofia today.

Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev explained his political platform and declared that he is searching for public consensus on the basis of the constitutional principle. The leaders of the Legion and Union submitted their requests, the most important of which is the claim that public organizations should play a role in the system of proposals for a new cabinet.

## Dailies Comment on Efforts To Form Government

*AU0512163992 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 5 Dec 92*

[From BTA press review]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The attempts of the Bulgarian Socialist, former Communist, Party [BSP] to form a cabinet and its nominee for the premiership, Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, are in the highlights of today's press.

Under a headline "Communist Nominee Needs Shrink, Bulgarian Emigrants in France Say," the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) DEMOKRATSIYA frontpages phone calls by Bulgarians living in France, who express "indignation and concern about the communist nominee for the prime-ministership." In several consecutive issues the paper runs accusations against Mr. Boyadzhiev.

"The downfall of the Filip Dimitrov cabinet could have been avoided if the SDS had shown flexibility," the press cites National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov (of the SDS) as saying yesterday at a public meeting in Varna (eastern Bulgaria). Mr. Yordanov said he did not support the idea of holding an early parliamentary election as it would delay the reform. "There is little to worry about when persons step down, the important thing is that the SDS remains in control," Mr. Yordanov said. The SDS and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) have to reach an understanding and foil the attempts of the BSP to form a cabinet forming a DPS-backed SDS government, he said.

The SDS and the DPS are discussing a general framework of future coordination and will be seeking a formula of a coalition cabinet, KONTINENT writes. The movement reportedly insists that incumbent Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev (who is now presiding over the

47th session of the UN General Assembly) be nominated for the premiership. There is also talk that the mandate to form a cabinet may be assigned to Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, according to the paper. Two contact groups will be enough in the talks on a coalition cabinet, says an official letter to SDS floor leaders by MP's of the DPS quoted by 24 CHASA. The SDS two days ago proposed that five contact groups be set up for the talks. The DPS now suggests that one team draws up the cabinet's programme and names candidates for ministerial portfolios and another sets parliament's priorities in law-making and revises operative legislation.

Thirty-nine per cent of Sofianites think the SDS will agree to form a cabinet with the DPS, 40 per cent believe it will decline to do so, and 21 per cent do not know, according to a telephone poll by BBSS Gallup International of 500 Sofia residents quoted by 24 CHASA.

## SDS Factional Deputy Blames Party for Crisis

*AU0712162192 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 30 Nov 92 p 3*

[Interview with Gospodin Atanasov, Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) deputy, by Svetlana Belousova and Genka Markova; place and date not given: "Politicians From the SDS Coalition Should Be Blamed for the Government Crisis"]

[Text] [KONTINENT] Mr. Atanasov, you claim that a Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] cabinet is possible, provided that a successful formula is found. In your opinion, how could the parliamentary crisis be overcome?

[Atanasov] There is only one way to do so, namely to form an SDS-DPS government. This is perfectly feasible if the DPS is entrusted with forming a cabinet. The question is to find a successful formula. Several such formulas exist, as a matter of fact. It is a different matter though, that the people who have so far conducted negotiations with the DPS deliberately wanted them to end in failure. They had no serious intention of forming a government or of reaching an agreement with the DPS.

[KONTINENT] Perhaps they were just trying to restore Filip Dimitrov's reputation?

[Atanasov] They were not that much concerned about Filip Dimitrov. They were rather trying to push the country toward new elections and succeeding only to a certain extent. Fortunately, common sense prevailed in the long run, and our colleagues from the SDS Parliamentary Group finally managed to overcome their fear and the attempts to manipulate them, and to take specific steps in the direction of an agreement with the DPS.

[KONTINENT] Does this mean that the balance of forces in the SDS Parliamentary Group is shifting? Have views changed, or are people simply overcoming their fear?

[Atanasov] People are overcoming their fear, the balance of forces has shifted, and common sense is prevailing. On the other hand, an agreement with the DPS is not likely to be easy. Differences exist on the nature and extent of the concessions. The most important thing is that there are opportunities to remove the people who have been in charge of the negotiations. There are two ways of negotiating—either to select a group of deputies who are inclined to adopt a pragmatic approach, or to apply the principle of direct agreement, namely to clarify the stances in a series of joint meetings between the two parliamentary groups. I have reason to believe that the reports on SDS contacts with the DPS which have thus far been submitted to our parliamentary group have been biased and untruthful.

[KONTINENT] Does this mean that you do not expect a caretaker government?

[Atanasov] I consider this possibility as remote, because the opportunities of forming an SDS-DPS government have rather increased.

[KONTINENT] How does your Group of 12 [SDS deputies opposed to the current leadership and government policy] intend to act in the near future?

[Atanasov] As a matter of fact, we are thinking about the future, and we have assessed all the changes likely to occur in the political situation. We shall not accept any pathetic attempts to manipulate the political situation as a stratagem, but we are ready to act in conformity with the political circumstances.

[KONTINENT] Do you rely solely on your own group, or on other forces within the SDS?

[Atanasov] This is the right opportunity to shift the balance of forces within the SDS Parliamentary Group in a positive direction. A trend toward isolating extremist elements from our parliamentary group is emerging. This justifies our hope that some corrections in SDS policy are possible, while at the same time preserving the homogeneity of the group. By corrections, I mean a return to the original SDS election program.

[KONTINENT] Does a correction of policy require changes in the leadership of the SDS Parliamentary Group?

[Atanasov] You cannot expect us to let the people who are responsible for the crisis determine future SDS policy. This raises the difficult problem of discussing mutual relations between the SDS Parliamentary Group and the SDS National Coordinating Council. It is very important to find out whether we are able to overcome the contradiction emerging between the positions of the Parliamentary Group and the Coordinating Council. It is possible, but we cannot be sure. It could be achieved by determining the supremacy of the Parliamentary Group over the Coordinating Council. In order to overcome the differences, it is necessary to draft a document

defining the competence, rights, and obligations of the Parliamentary Group and of the Coordinating Council and to settle their relations.

As far as the SDS Coordinating Council is concerned, it should admit people who are ready to take the program and policy of the SDS as a political force into consideration. I am quite convinced that, at a forthcoming national conference or at some other forum, the SDS National Coordinating Council will be likely to face merciless criticism from the electorate and the party's grass roots, because the results are evident, the crisis is evident, and the guilt cannot be denied. Someone should be held responsible for all of this....

[KONTINENT] Is this the reason why the SDS leadership is now trying to pass a no-confidence vote against certain members of parliament?

[Atanasov] Of course. The problem with the SDS National Coordinating Council and with those who are responsible for the crisis is that they are trying to blame others.

[KONTINENT] To what extent is Ludzhev's New Policy Center assisting you in analyzing the political situation?

[Atanasov] Such analysts exist in all civilized countries. So far the Group of 12 has not demonstrated any gross shortcomings in its behavior. This is partially due to the center's assistance, while in the meantime the Parliamentary Group and the Coordinating Council have pursued their policy of improvisation with evident results.

## Fatherland Union Head Views Government Crisis

*AU0712151892 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 30 Nov 92 p 7*

[Interview with Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the Fatherland Union and former Grand National Assembly deputy chairman, by Lyubomira Nikolaeva; place and date not given: "It Is Bulgaria's Bad Luck That Everyone Would Not Only Like To Be a Minister, But the Prime Minister"]

[Text] [Nikolaeva] Mr. Ganev, you have withdrawn from the political limelight. Why?

[Ganev] It is my conviction that achieving understanding in society is the only method of pursuing democratization. Nevertheless, extreme hostility between the opposing political forces prevailed at the last elections in October 1991. I think that was the crucial moment when the adage that democracy is not a method of public government, but a way of life for coexistence, was forgotten. It is true that I have temporarily withdrawn from the political limelight. I did not wish to escalate further the atmosphere of intolerance and the people's division on party grounds. The policy of hatred has produced bitter results, while the difficult reforms in our country demand joint efforts and mutual support for our common wellbeing.

[Nikolaeva] Is the war between the institutions the reason for the current political instability, in your opinion?

[Ganev] The war between the institutions, as it is currently manifesting itself, promotes a negative image of our democratic process. It should be halted. This is an urgent political necessity and easy to implement under a single condition—namely, good will. I repeat that the struggle for overwhelming power is unacceptable. The principle of the division of powers has not been established for the sake of encouraging confrontation between government and parliament, or between government and president. It requires sensible cooperation instead. It would be disastrous if the confrontation should influence the work of the institutions. They are obliged to function to protect the interests of all citizens, rather than for the sake of individual interests. The readiness for understanding among the institutions should be an obligatory requirement today, since we expect more efficient work from parliament and from the new government.

[Nikolaeva] What is your political forecast about the chances of overcoming the political crisis?

[Ganev] I do not intend to make any forecasts, but to speak about public necessities. Every effort should be made to form a government committed to reform, a government which should protect the interests of all social strata on an equal basis without any discrimination. This is where the tremendous responsibility of the present National Assembly lies. Like all other parliaments, our National Assembly is divided into different party groupings, but an alliance of all those who support a strong and effective executive power is what is called for today, rather than the prevalence of group interests.

[Nikolaeva] You are currently being mentioned as a potential candidate for prime minister. What is your attitude to this?

[Ganev] I would consider the possibility, but only under certain conditions. I would not accept a party nomination, because I do not wish to be the pawn of any political party whatsoever. The new government should respond to the needs of all society. It should adopt a simple but unambiguous program on accelerating reform and adopting social welfare measures to make its burdens more bearable for the people.

In this context, the new cabinet should rely on definite and relatively solid parliamentary support. Nevertheless, such support should be based on the conviction that the government's work depends on the will of parliament, rather than on political deals negotiated in the lobbies. I maintain my conviction that our National Assembly has adopted several necessary and positive laws and that

there should no question of their basic revision. Nevertheless, at the proposal of the new government, parliament should discuss several legislative acts to which it has hitherto failed to pay the necessary attention. The government as a whole should not deal with all sorts of issues, but try to concentrate on a few essential problems and acts—such as providing the necessary food for the people's survival, solving the power supply problem, the military industry issues, and fiercely combating the growing crime rate.

[Nikolaeva] What kind of personalities are eligible and likely to carry out such intentions, in your opinion?

[Ganev] A group of competent people, capable of ruling the country, should form the government, so that the cabinet may work as a responsible and well coordinated team, rather than being composed of individuals representing different interests. Such a government should be subordinate to parliament and serve the interests of the people whom it represents. It should realize that their problems can only be resolved with a universal human approach rather than in a partisan spirit.

[Nikolaeva] Nevertheless, yours is the rather theoretical attitude of a political "outsider." As a matter of fact, you refused to become prime minister in 1990.

[Ganev] At that time, I was convinced that the government could not rely on any lasting parliamentary support. One of my university teachers used to say: Bulgaria's bad luck is not so much that everyone aspires to be a minister, but rather that everyone consider himself fit to be the prime minister. In addition to this, I thought that I would be more useful working for the Grand National Assembly.

[Nikolaeva] Following the last parliamentary elections in 1991, you reportedly expressed your misgivings about the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] becoming a separate parliamentary group. Did you foresee the present situation?

[Ganev] I was always convinced that the DPS should be a separate parliamentary group. The question was to prevent the establishment of a political party based on ethnic or religious principles. Today, the DPS has provided evidence for its concern about the citizens' common interests. I approve of Mr. Dogan's intention to stress the movement's centrist orientation.

[Nikolaeva] You are one of our moderate politicians. Nevertheless, you are evidently drawn toward some kind of center. Is this center not a merely geographical concept?

[Ganev] Centrism is neither a geographical, nor a geometrical concept. It is a method of thinking and a style of behavior which rejects extreme and irreconcilable confrontation. It is seeking political moderation and a sensible compromise in order to rally a greater number of people around the common policy of democratic changes.

[Nikolaeva] "The Ginyo Ganev style" seems to have its followers. What exactly is concealed behind your attractive rhetoric?

[Ganev] I hope that there is not much to be concealed. I rather hope to have clearly expressed my conviction that we can and should discuss everything. The discussion should be conducted in a spirit of tolerance and with a mutual desire for understanding one another. An American senator once asked me what should be done to accelerate the democratization process in Bulgaria. I told him that we need a bit more human warmth.

## Fundamental Changes in Electoral System Urged

*AU0512154992 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 1 Dec 92 p 6*

[Article by Rumen Vodenicharov, former dissident and former vice presidential candidate: "Bulgaria Needs a Different Electoral System, Rather Than Early Elections"]

[Text] Last Saturday [28 November], when people were leaving the South Park rally, someone played a recording of the "Last Waltz"—the hit of the Union of Democratic Forces' [SDS] last election campaign. The melody is popular and easy to remember. It was presumably borrowed from an old song, like Emil Dimitrov did with the melody of his patriotic song: "Bulgaria—My Country." However, what about the text? It is amazing to listen to because it seems that it is specially written about the fall of the first democratic, anticommunist government headed by Filip Dimitrov. Such are the cruel tricks that fate often plays on politicians! Within only a year, the new SDS party found itself in exactly the same position as the old party that it replaced in ruling the country. At least the old party did not deny being totalitarian, but what about the new one?

The tales about representative democracy were forgotten as soon as the SDS won the elections by a 1.5 percent majority. The SDS appointed its own local administrators in charge of decommunization who imposed their will upon the mayors elected by the people. The "blue broom" of the SDS swept away all those civil servants who were considered "unfit" from the courts of justice, prosecutor's office, police forces, Army, diplomatic corps, and economic managements. Some not very clearly defined and illegitimate formations called coordinating councils, which were never elected, began to rule the people's destinies. They were mostly composed of citizens who, for some reason or another, did not prosper under the past regime, or opponents of the regime who were repressed in a more remote past. Alcoholics and criminals were also among them. Taking revenge on the communists—or to put it more precisely, on their children—they hardly looked at themselves in the mirror, failing to notice how much they resembled the communists. Only their beards and smoking habits were different. The new democrats eagerly started dismantling the system, but the only thing they really

dismantled was the Bulgarian state. The roots of democracy were destroyed by the roots of hatred, violation, corruption, and crime. The terms "democratic forces" and "SDS member" became dirty words. Bulgaria was once more forgotten by the world and isolated from all its neighbors, with the exception of Turkey. No one can be certain whether Turkey's intentions in the Balkans are quite honest.

The conspiracy against democracy, which was successfully implemented on the occasion of the 1991 elections, is called the proportional electoral system. It was approved in parliament by both the SDS and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], and also on behalf of those leaders who signed the Constitution (such as Dr. Petur Dertliev and Milan Drenchev). The elections were democratic, as such, but the voters did not realize that they were merely legalizing the preliminary election of party leaderships. Today's parliament is full of deputies whose school diplomas, health records, and police files no one has ever seen.

What is much more dangerous, however, is the fact that Ahmed Dogan, the leader of the "greatest Turkish party in the Balkans," declared himself to be the incarnation of "democratic control" and plays the role of a balancing element for the two major political forces in parliament.

The failure of the SDS idea and the fall of the SDS government prompted some starving Bulgarians, in their euphoria, to believe that a BSP government, or a coalition between the BSP and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], is possible. Such a government is not likely to achieve anything useful, even if it should be approved by the National Assembly. The popular saying that the "fish smells from the head" is quite to the point. Only a totally new parliament that reflects the real mood of the Bulgarian population, rather than a newly elected one, is capable of guaranteeing the election of a successful government. Any cabinet set up under the present circumstances is doomed to failure, while the country is condemned to permanent chaos and decline. A bipolar parliament with the anticonstitutional DPS group is totally incapable of setting a correct and positive tone for the nation.

It is not a question of whether early, new elections are necessary, but whether the electoral law on the basis of which elections should be held should be changed. After 45 years in which 50 cabinets succeeded each other in Italy, Italian voters finally convinced themselves that the proportional electoral system is chiefly responsible for corruption and the penetration of the Mafia in the power structures. Should Bulgarian voters wait another 45 years to become convinced of the same fact?

## Zhelev Views Relations With SDS

*AU0612202192 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—In a televised interview on the third anniversary of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), President Zhelyu Zhelev, cofounder and the union's first leader, said the SDS is still the political force on which Bulgarian people place their hopes for democracy, change and a successful completion of the economic reforms. "Whether this will continue over the future depends on the union's capacity for change and renewal," Dr. Zhelev said. The president was recently sharply criticized by SDS leaders. The SDS declared Dr. Zhelev no longer represented it. Asked about the future turn of relations between him and the SDS, Dr. Zhelev said it would depend on the processes within the SDS on the one hand and on the relations among government institutions on the other. "It will also depend on the formation of a strong cabinet, which would prevent early elections," Dr. Zhelev said. He said an early election could modify his relations with the SDS but did not specify how.

## General Staff Chief Views Security, Cooperation

*AU0712154592 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 30 Nov 92 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff, by Ilka Ilieva; place and date not given: "The Military Guarantees Inviolability in the Field of Diplomacy"]

[Excerpts] [Ilieva] General Petrov, what is the state of the Bulgarian Army after the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact? It used to protect the Pact's southern flank.

[Petrov] This is a fundamental issue of strategic importance. In the bloc structure, our Army used to implement the role of the Warsaw Pact's "front unit" in the southwestern military theater. Thus the territorial integrity of the country was guaranteed from outside and the approximate balance of power in our region was preserved.

Since the disintegration of the bloc structure, the Bulgarian Army has become the only armed force that can and must guarantee the territorial integrity and inviolability of our country's borders. We have made no commitments to any allies and have received none. We rely for everything on our own forces and capabilities. [passage omitted]

[Ilieva] Is the military doctrine of the Bulgarian Army an offensive or a defensive one?

[Petrov] Our military doctrine is still being worked out. It is a political act, and we only are the executors. We do not have any territorial claims on anyone, and we are not preparing any attack. However, we must have an army which can guarantee the motherland's territorial sovereignty and integrity. Therefore, the Army must correspond to modern requirements. [passage omitted]

[Ilieva] At your last meeting with your Turkish Army counterpart, General Gures, you adopted a document called "Edirne-92." What is its importance for our national security?

[Petrov] Until several years, ago our relations with our neighboring countries, especially Turkey, were not good. Furthermore, they were strained to a very dangerous degree. After the elimination of the bloc confrontation, we found ourselves in a completely new situation, in which the political and ideological preconditions of a confrontation had ceased to exist. Therefore, we, with the active cooperation of the Turkish side, adopted urgent measures aimed at normalizing our relations. The document proves our efforts to demonstrate by all means our sincerity to each other. Within a very brief period we achieved significant results. [passage omitted]

[Ilieva] You mentioned in Edirne, and afterward in Sofia, a meeting of the general staff chiefs of the Balkan countries. Do you think that we could achieve the same results we achieved at the Bulgarian-Turkish meeting in our relations with other Balkan countries?

[Petrov] The idea of convening a Balkan meeting at the level of general staff chiefs is a dream of mine, which was born immediately after the elimination of the bloc confrontation. For us, as representatives of the high-ranking military leadership, it is important who our neighbors are and what relations we have with them. We maintain equal relations with all neighboring armies and general staffs, because good friendship is the best guarantee of national security.

As far as the meeting of the general staff chiefs is concerned, there are several preconditions. First of all, the conflict in Yugoslavia must end with a satisfactory outcome. Second, the governments of the Balkan states must adopt a political decision to hold such a meeting. Only afterward could we discuss confidence measures and openness throughout the entire peninsula. As far as the Bulgarian Army General Staff is concerned—we have already extended our hand. [passage omitted]

## Status of Pending Parliamentary Actions Detailed

*AU0712184692 Sofia BTA in English 1401 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—At a press conference today the chief of the Parliamentary Legislative Committee, Mr. Aleksandur Dzherov, said that this month parliament will give priority to settling the problems of Bulgaria's debt-ridden power engineering and of the tobacco industry, which employs mainly Bulgarian Turks.

The incumbent parliament, dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), has been working for more than a year and has passed 222 acts and resolutions, including acts regulating privatization, restitution, foreign investment, banking and the confiscation of the property of the former Communist Party and other totalitarian organizations as well as amendments to the Labour Code and to the Land Act. But there are 168 bills still waiting to be debated in parliament whose work has been blocked by the present cabinet crisis and the contradictions between the former parliamentary allies—the SDS and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS].

According to Mr. Aleksandur Dzherov, parliament will hardly be able to pass the package of tax bills moved by the cabinet of Filip Dimitrov several months ago by the end of this year. This means that the tax reform, envisaged to start in 1993, will probably be delayed and the new budget will be made in the old way. Mr. Dzherov believes that the new tax legislation will not come into force before 1994. He described the now operative tax legislation as "fit only for a museum."

## Zhelev Meets Labor Confederation Leader

*AU0712195092 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev today received Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

Dr. Trenchev stressed the problems created by the increasing influx of guest workers. The Bulgarian trade unions are concerned over the expected lifting of the exit visa requirement in the CIS as of January 1, 1993, when, according to them, a wave of citizens of the former Soviet republics will sweep this country. This will further aggravate the situation in Bulgaria, which had 558,000 unemployed about December 1, an increase by 100,000 from November 1, according to the National Employment Service. Experts say the growth in unemployment is faster than projected.

The president shares most of our views, Dr. Trenchev told the press after the meeting. According to Podkrepa's leader, President Zhelev agreed with him that the military conflicts in the Balkans may pose a threat to Bulgaria's security and the Army should stand ready. Dr. Trenchev said that little has been done though the threat is real because, trying to achieve their own aims, politicians have lost sight of bigger problems.

## Silistra Customs Authorities View Border Problems

*AU0612194492 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Text] Silistra, December 6 (BTA)—Russian racketeers broke the windows of a bus with forty children, victims of Chernobyl, customs officers in Silistra on the Danube told the media. Persons accompanying the children today complained to officers at the border checkpoint.

The situation at Bulgaria's border checkpoints is complicated, customs officers say. Since December 4 the Silistra customs officers denied passage to 99 vehicles, 70 percent of them buses. The unfortunate travelers are usually trying to smuggle more goods than permitted by law. The strictness of customs authorities stirs up hostile feelings and could spoil bilateral relations, according to Sergey Eryomin, leader of a group detained in Silistra

today, who introduced himself as director of the Interbrig Tour Operator based in Herson, Ukraine. Customs officers, in turn, report many violations by ex-Soviet citizens and Bulgarians. Thus Bulgarian boatmen were caught trying to unload smuggled goods from tourist vessels. Tourists from the ex-Soviet Union claim ignorance of Bulgarian laws. There are threats and bribe offers, too, customs officers say. Recently two officers were offered 12,000 dollars each to let the goods pass. The sizable sum made them think the cargo may have been arms or narcotics.

### Data on Emigration to Turkey Published

*AU0612162692 Sofia BTA in English 1537 GMT 6 Dec 92*

["Winter, Steps by Turkey Stop Exodus of Bulgarian Turks"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—About 100,000 Bulgarian Turks (one-third of ethnic Turks in the Kurdzhali district, southern Bulgaria) have emigrated to Turkey since 1989, according to a survey of municipalities inhabited by mixed population in the Khaskovo region. The survey commissioned by the president's office was conducted by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, KONTINENT reports. The president's office has been familiarized with its findings, the paper says.

The Kurdzhali district (inhabited by compact Turkish population) was strongly affected by the mass exodus of Turks in 1989, which followed the assimilation campaign launched by the communist regime in 1984-85.

The current upsurge of emigration is due to economic reasons, as stated by the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) in its criticism of the cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) ousted in late October. The wave of emigrants has now abated due to winter and measures taken by the Turkish side, according to pollster Stefan Ikonomov. The pollsters, who visited 60 private businesses in the Khaskovo region, say the Turkish population is unwilling to take up serious business. People who choose to stay in Bulgaria are poorer and less qualified. Most Bulgarian Turks are seeking to settle down in Turkey, Mr. Ikonomov says.

### Partial Census Results Reported

*AU0712194692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] The nationwide population and housing census count is proceeding according to plan, the Central Census Commission reports.

During the first 84 hours of the census, 41 percent of the population and housing units have already been counted in the country's municipalities. A total of 288 municipalities exist in Bulgaria. The census functionaries and controllers are actively involved in guaranteeing the objectivity of the data obtained.

Certain difficulties emerged in areas where the influence of political forces taking advantage of their impact on the population in connection with answering the question about the mother tongue continues. Such cases have occurred in the municipalities of Belitsa, Yakoruda, and (?Durven). Similar attempts of politicization are not typical of other areas in the country.

### Chief of Organized Crime Department Replaced

*AU0712174292 Sofia BTA in English 1540 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—Major Tikhomir Stoychev, chief of the Organized Crime Control Service, has been replaced because of "unwarranted contacts with discredited persons, known to be engaged in criminal activity," the Press Office of Ministry of the Interior said today. According to the press release, he failed to act promptly on warnings about organized crime.

The Ministry of the Interior's announcement came in response to a report in today's DUMA, the daily of the Socialist Party, according to which Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov "punished" Tikhomir Stoychev. DUMA says that Stoychev's colleagues have launched a sign-in campaign in his defense, suspecting political or personal motives behind the minister's order. The newspaper also assumes that the service's information may be used in the interests of the ruling force.

24 CHASA quotes Tikhomir Stoychev as saying that the ministry's senior leaders replaced him in revenge for his opposition to their plan to turn the Organized Crime Control Service into a political police. According to 24 CHASA, there is information that Arlin Antonov, chief of the National Security Service, who is now in the U.S., will be demoted because he has sent a bill on the National Security Service for discussion in the Regional Directorates of the Interior. The Ministry's press office denied reports in the press, according to which Mr. Antonov has been punished. The Ministry stated that Antonov exceeded his powers by sending the Regional Structures a bill which runs counter to the Constitution and the national legislation, and is an attempt to restore the powers of the former State Security. The Interior Ministry's secretaries believe that Arlin Antonov grossly violated discipline. The press release says the minister of the interior will take a decision on the case after Antonov's return from his trip.

## U.S. Ambassador Talks To Moravcik About Bugging

*LD0712174092 Prague CTK in English 1604 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—Questions linked to the uncovering of a bugging device in the building of the U.S. consulate in Bratislava were today discussed by U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Adrian A. Basora and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik.

Moravcik informed Basora, at whose request the meeting took place, about the investigation of the affair and promised to supply the U.S. side with prompt information.

Zdenek Zikmund, director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Press Department, declined to give CTK further details during the investigation, referring to agreement reached by the two sides.

On Saturday [5 December] night, Czechoslovak television reported that the staff of the U.S. consulate in Bratislava have found a tapping device in the consulate building during the past fortnight.

* * *

Bratislava—Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna today again rejected responsibility of his ministry for the installation of the bugging device in the U.S. consulate building.

Tuchyna said that in the spring of 1990, the then Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher ordered all bugging devices, installed under the communist regime, to be removed. This order was realised only partially, Tuchyna said.

He thinks that somewhere bugging devices can still be installed...but we do not have any proofs and documentation.

But the U.S. case can be a signal for other diplomatic missions to thoroughly examine their buildings. The Slovak Interior Ministry cannot help them because it does not have the necessary documentation. It is in the hands of Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak. Were I in his place, I would take a quick action, Tuchyna said.

* * *

Bratislava—Martin Kvetko, Honorary Chairman of the Democratic Party, former Slovak Government coalition partner, not represented in the present parliament, today called the case of the U.S. consulate an international scandal.

If there were knowledge of the existence of the device, the Slovak side should have done something for its removal, not only notify the Federal Foreign Affairs Ministry and then wait what will happen. This is a scandal responsibility for which must be shouldered by both Prague and Bratislava, he said.

## Bug Existence Common Knowledge

*LD0712205592 Prague CTK in English 2024 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—The installation of bugging devices at embassies and consulates before 1989 was generally known, and in December 1989 it was decided to remove them, former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK and Czechoslovak television today.

Dienstbier, chairman of the Civic Movement (OH), was Czechoslovak foreign minister from December 10, 1989, to July 2, 1992.

If they have not been removed, those concerned, i.e. Interior Ministry people, should be asked why, Dienstbier said in connection with the uncovering of a tapping device in the building of the U.S. consulate in Bratislava.

On Saturday [5 December], Czechoslovak television was the first to report that in the past fortnight the device was found in the building.

Dienstbier was reacting to a claim made on Sunday by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar that under Jiri Dienstbier, the Foreign Ministry was several times notified of the existence of the bugging devices.

Since the consulate opened in Bratislava in May 1991, neither the U.S. side nor anybody else has reported the existence of the device, Dienstbier said. He doubted that any Foreign Ministry staffer would run the risk and keep the information to himself.

Dienstbier said that it could have happened that somebody somewhere has forgotten something that he or she should not have forgotten. But this concerns the Interior Ministry's people who were in charge of these devices, he added.

* * *

Bratislava—The Slovak General Prosecutor's Office today said it has had no information about the installation of the bugging devices found in the building of the U.S. consulate.

In a statement passed to the Slovak News Agency TA SR, the General Prosecutor's Office says that nobody has asked it in the past to install bugging devices in the building.

## German Support for Dam Completion Received

*AU0312140092 Prague CTK in English 2108 GMT 30 Nov 92*

[Text] Bonn, Nov 30 (CTK correspondent)— A Czechoslovak parliament delegation led by Roman Zelenay, chairman of the parliament's House of Nations, on a two-day visit to Germany, discussed today bilateral relations with Vice President of the German Bundestag

Helmuth Becker. Problems of national minorities and the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the Danube were also taken up.

At a press conference following the meeting Becker said he supports the completion of Gabcikovo. I am in favor of this hydroelectric plant, he said, and added that power will be needed in future and it is necessary to decide in favor of one of its possible resources.

Referring to the Hungarian minority, Becker said all problems should be settled in the spirit of good cooperation with Hungary. Also today the Czechoslovak delegation is scheduled to meet with Hans Eichel, the Hesse premier. Tomorrow it will hold talks with representatives of the Bavarian parliament.

## 'Concrete Lobby' Called Force Behind Gabcikovo

*93CH0169A Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 30 Nov 92 p 5*

[Article by Lajos Tuba: "Nineteen Does Not Equal 20 Minus One in the Case of the Gabcikovo Dam"]

[Text] In contrast to Hungary, in our country Green politicians acquiring positions close to the center of power after the system change made the mistake of failing to forcefully shake the positions of the Bos [Gabcikovo] concrete lobby. Thus, within a few months, the concrete lobby established its connections within the new power structure, and, shortly thereafter, noticeably diminished the chances of having prepared a complex risk assessment of the dam system—the sole realistic approach to the problem. A series of attempts to assess the attending risks ran aground; moreover, with the passage of time, the definition of risk assessment also became increasingly further removed from its original purpose.

The last opportunity for preparing such a risk assessment appeared in the form of 19 conditions to be linked to the implementation of the C variant, established by the Slovak Environmental Protection Office last June. Many objected to these conditions at the time, but by now their importance is apparent: A few enthusiastic ministry employees succeeded in their fight to resolve the problem, and they did so despite a state administration supportive of the dam, despite a minister whose commitment to the dam is clearer than the light of day, and despite family connections at the highest levels. Some of the 19 points relate to flood protection and ensuring navigation, but what is most important is that eight of the 19 points relate to the quality and volume of potable water, and four points deal with the protection of the natural environment. Based on this concept, the Water Resource Management Investment Enterprise would not have received a permit to operate the dam under the C variant until it provided satisfactory solutions to the problems described.

The firm of Julius Binder initiated several research programs to find out whether these conditions could be met, and it hired Hydroconsult, the Water Resource Management Research Institute, and the Underground Water Consulting Firm headed by Professor Mucha to perform the research.

Unquestionably, the most critical task faced by the researchers was the fulfillment of the eight conditions related to the quality and volume of potable water. To resolve these issues they examined primarily the sediment deposits to be accumulated in the Kortvelyes [Hrusov] reservoir, the pollutants to be accumulated in the river branch system within the flood zone, and changes in the quality of surface and underground waters, as well as the volume of potable water that could be produced. The analysis of mostly earlier findings within the parameters of the C variant undoubtedly clarified many things; nevertheless, despite repeated warnings by the Environmental Protection Office, the findings produced by the mutually independent research groups were not correlated. From among the achievements one should underscore research done relative to sedimentation (colmatage), and exploratory drilling experiments related to the pollution of the river branch system in the Somorja [Samorin] and Szemet [Kalinkovo] areas.

Despite all this, however, essential water quality issues remained unresolved. It remains questionable whether preserving the oxygen content of subsurface water filtration is possible. If not, we must count on finding a number of pollutants that could render water not potable by human beings, once it reaches the wells. The two large bays formed across from Somorja and Gutor [Hamuliakovo] as a result of implementing the C variant also present a serious threat: The shallow waters in the bays would warm up significantly in the summer and the resultant nurturing effect could affect the water quality of filtration wells along the Danube shores even in Budapest.

An unexpected opportunity arose last year to test in practice these generally theoretical hypotheses. The August flood filled up the Kortvelyes reservoir for a few days, and employees of the Water Resource Management Institute had an opportunity to examine in detail the incipient processes. In the course of these examinations employees of the Water Resource Management division were stunned to learn that most concerns they had voiced for almost two decades came true. Several dangerous pollutants appeared in samples taken from subsurface waters along the shore; in some instances the PCB content of the sample exceeded the maximum permissible amount of PCB by 18 times. Pollution stopped after the flood receded, and the flow of ground water gradually dissolved the polluted water mass. Should pollution become permanent due to the continuous water pressure created by filling the reservoir, hazardous materials entering the waters would, sooner or later, get into the wells. Unfortunately, however, these findings were shelved after certain changes were made in the leadership of the Water Resource Management Research Institute. Moreover, since these findings

became known, two research groups were commissioned to contradict them—without success, for now. Hydrogeochemists also voice increasing doubts among themselves and regard the solution suggested by Professor Mucha as unreliable. His concept calls for the acceleration of the flow of water and for the insulation of certain segments of the river bottom to prevent these phenomena from occurring.

Similar inconsistencies can also be found in regard to conditions related to nature conservation. As of recently, we sadly witnessed in reality that the key to this problem was the volume of water that flowed in the main branch and in the secondary branches. Hydroconsult developed a concept to ensure water levels in the secondary branches; according to this concept the river branch system would be divided into cassettes [as published], i.e., in essence the river branch system would be transformed into a network of lakes. Every ecologist has rejected this concept from the outset, because implementing it would cause irreversible changes in the ecosystem of the flood zone. Despite these objections, however, the planners have not submitted an acceptable proposal to this date.

Based on all the above we may conclude that the the conditions related to the most critical risks remained unresolved (and compared to this it almost seems like a secondary issue that no proposal responding to the ninth issue was received, regarding the navigability of the river below Szap [Palkovicovo]). Thus it comes as a shock that, despite all the above, they not only flooded the dam, but the office that was changed into a ministry in the meantime did not even take a position in this regard. Accordingly, in vain did Minister Ivan Tirpak—regarded as a bad minister anyway—make several promises not to relax the requirements once they were established; it sufficed to appoint as his successor Jozsef Zlocha—a constant participant in Binder's propaganda actions—to achieve full official silence. Idiosyncrasies that evolved on the basis of several decades of experience, and which were once already forgotten, once again began to work inside the people employed at offices and research institutions of this industry. Only a very few people who analyzed the findings of the aforementioned flooding of the Danube were able to do what Darina Liptakova did. She preferred to quit her job in response to attempts to make her change her research findings, thus risking her entire research career. For this reason, in the present situation, many researchers in this country only hope that their doubts will be raised by Hungarian professionals at the trilateral professional committee overseen in Brussels—doubts regarding the dam that the Czechoslovak party somehow did not regard worthy of consideration.

## Parliament Bodies Hold Talks on Gabcikovo

*AU0712151992 Prague CTK in English 2143 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 3 (CTK)—Erno Rozsa, chairman of the Slovak parliament's Council on the Environment and Preservation of Nature, held talks today with a Hungarian parliamentary delegation during which he called on the Slovak and Hungarian Governments to sign a long-term agreement on cooperation in environmental issues.

Rozsa also said both sides should then begin talks with Austria on concluding a similar agreement. The Hungarian and Slovak delegations are meeting in Bratislava to discuss environmental issues and the impact of the Gabcikovo dam on the surrounding terrain.

Lajos Zsebok, a Hungarian parliamentary deputy, pointed out that the surface of the Danube on Hungarian territory had already dropped by one to three meters. He said this had led to the death of fish and a shortage of well water, which was having an impact on the whole ecosystem.

Zsebok said the Hungarian side was especially interested in finding out how Slovakia would insure a 95 percent continuous water flow along the Danube River bed.

Jan Carnogursky, of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), said this would soon be assured and invited the Hungarian side to renew its close cooperation with Slovakia in monitoring the water flow along the Danube river bed.

Construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water works was begun jointly by Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1978, but in 1989 Hungary unilaterally halted work on its part of the project at Nagymaros, citing environmental reasons. In May 1992 Hungary rescinded its 1977 agreement with Czechoslovakia on construction of the twin-dam project while Czechoslovakia went ahead with its part at Gabcikovo.

At the Brussels talks on the Slovak-Hungarian dispute held between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the European Community November 21, Czechoslovakia pledged to immediately halt all work at Gabcikovo with the exception of maintenance necessary to preserve the essence of the existing equipment. Since the maintenance mentioned in the pledge did not apply to equipment used to drain away water during an increase in the river's surface level, experts immediately warned against possible flooding.

Jozef Zlocha, Slovak minister for the environment, told a press conference in Bratislava today that damages and consequences from the unfinished portions of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam totalled 50,000 million crowns (1,800 million USD.)

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 4 December on page 2 carries a 100-word CTK report on Slovak Environment Minister Zlocha's news conference, which includes the following passage: "Asked whether the 19 conditions set by the former Slovak Commission for the Environment are being complied with in building the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project, Zlocha said

that, thus far, 12 of them have been fulfilled fully and 7 partially because views on these issues differ even among researchers."]

### Czech, Slovak Republics To Join GATT by March

*LD0412172692 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 4 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 4 (CTK)—The Czech Republic will join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) by the beginning of March 1993, Czech Minister of Trade and Industry Vladimir Dlouhy announced in Prague today.

Dlouhy, speaking to a news conference upon his return from talks with the European Community (EC) in Brussels, said the Czech and Slovak Republics, as successor states to Czecholsovakia, would for all intents and purposes function within GATT as regular members in the interim period between January and March 1993.

He said he told EC representatives in Belgium that the Czech Republic would have a sufficiently stable economy in two years to be considered for EC membership.

Dlouhy said that Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the EC Commission and its General Secretary David Williamson, told him the EC was preparing a draft proclamation for its meeting in Edinburgh, saying the EC will agree to accept central and eastern European countries as eventual EC members without any further conditions.

Dlouhy said, however, that he was not told which countries were specifically concerned.

### Coalition, Opposition Disagree on Constitution

*LD0412213992 Prague CSTK in English 1824 GMT 4 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 4 (CTK)—A three-fifths majority requirement for the approval of constitutional laws and incorporation of the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms in the Czech Constitution are among the five points on which the Czech Government coalition and the opposition disagree.

The other three points are: the territorial administrative division of the Czech Republic, establishment of a permanent committee operating after a possible dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and a referendum.

These points, including comments by the Czech parliament committees concerning the government draft Czech Constitution, are stressed in a letter that a Czech parliamentary commission preparing the Constitution sent to the parliament's Constitutional Committee today. The committee is expected to resolve these issues at its session at Lany near Prague December 7-12.

Talks on the draft Constitution will continue until December 16 when the Czech parliament begins debating it.

Resolving these five points is a condition for the opposition's approval of the Constitution, Czech parliament Deputy for the Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) Frantisek Kacenka told reporters. He said that according to the results of talks by parliamentary committees on the Constitution, there is hope that a compromise can be achieved.

### Transfer Amendment Not to Be In Constitution

*AU0712133692 Prague CTK in English 1705 GMT 4 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 4 (CTK)—Chairmen of the Czech governing coalition parties decided today that the prospective amendment on the transfer of Federal Assembly deputies to the Senate of the Czech parliament should not be part of the Czech Constitution, Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) Chairman Josef Lux told CTK.

The governing coalition is made up of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), and the KDU-CSL.

The coalition accepted the recommendation of the ODA not to combine the vote on the transfer with the vote on the Czech Constitution. The ODA was the only coalition party to reject the transfer.

ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus said that the ODA's view of the transfer of Federal Assembly deputies to the Czech parliament still differs from the view of the ODS, the KDS, and the KDU-CSL, but that today's meeting was a definite step forward.

Klaus said that the party chairmen did not discuss filling new posts in the Czech Government today. According to Thursday's [3 December] resolution, the KDS will seek to fill the newly created posts of another deputy premier and a transportation minister.

Of course we insist on having corresponding representation within the framework of the coalition after the abolition of the federal and expanded republican organs, said KDS Chairman Vaclav Benda.

### Communists Signal Compromise on Czech Constitution

*AU0712184092 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—Czech National Council (parliament) deputies for the Left Bloc coalition are

ready to agree to a compromise in debate on a government draft Czech Constitution, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM—member of the coalition) Jiri Svoboda said today.

Neither the opposition nor the Left Bloc will insist stubbornly on everything they have set as the basis for their activity in parliament, Svoboda told a press conference. He said that if the government opposition starts seeking a compromise, the Left Bloc might join it.

In his view, however, no willingness to seek compromise solutions exists in the Czech parliament and the government coalition is rather inclined to power solutions.

Deputy Josef Hurta said the Left Bloc will not give up its demand that constitutional laws be adopted by a three-fifths majority (the government draft envisages their adoption by absolute majority).

The Left Bloc will also insist on its demand that the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms be incorporated in the Czech Constitution, Hurta said. However, he allowed for the possibility that the Charter could be only mentioned in the constitution as its inseparable part.

KSCM Deputy Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek said the party's second congress will take place December 12-13 in Kladno, Central Bohemia.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 December on page 2 carries a 200-word "go"-signed report on the Left Bloc briefing. The report quotes KSCM Deputy Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek as saying that the KSCM "has about 380,000 members at present."]

## ODA Not Expected To Jeopardize Coalition

*AU0712153392 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—Czech Premier and chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Vaclav Klaus today said he does not believe that the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) would cast doubt on the government coalition over the transfer of Federal Assembly deputies elected in the Czech Republic to the Czech parliament.

The ODA is the only Czech coalition party to be opposed to the transfer of federal deputies after the federal parliament ceases to exist together with the Czechoslovak Federation as of January 1, 1993.

At a press conference today, Klaus said that the technical aspect of the transfer is secondary for the time being because no definitive decision has as yet been made on how it should be done.

The draft Czech Constitution provides for the creation of a second parliament chamber, a Senate, having 81 seats. There are 174 federal legislators elected in the Czech Republic.

Klaus told journalists that the chairmen of the government coalition parties have not yet reached any concrete agreement on filling new posts to be created with the establishment of the independent Czech Republic.

The coalition parties are, in addition to the ODS and ODA, the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL).

Petr Cermak, ODS executive deputy chairman and federal interior minister, who is considered one of possible candidates for a new Czech defense minister, told CTK: If a post is offered to me, I will think about it. But at the moment, it is not at all essential for me whether I am a minister.

Oldrich Kuzilek, chairman of the ODA group in the Czech parliament, today told CTK that his party will consider withdrawal from the government coalition if federal legislators from the Czech Republic are transferred to the Czech parliament.

He said the ODA is opposed to the transfer of federal parliamentarians for reasons of principle. It is a pity that other reasons are attributable to us because we do not have deputies in the Federal Assembly, Kuzilek said.

The ODA has 14 deputies in the 150-seat Czech parliament.

The transfer of federal deputies to the Czech parliament would bind political forces to a step that is completely doubtful, Kuzilek said.

Every political party must think it over whether or not it wants to shoulder the responsibility and whether or not this responsibility goes beyond the framework of coalition indulgence, he said.

## Official Note Sent to Ambassadors on Dissolution

*LD0712191992 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—An official note summarising the international political and legal aspects of the constitutional law on the dissolution of the federation has been given to ambassadors and diplomatic representatives in Czechoslovakia by representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The note says that the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic will divide December 31, 1992, and that its successor states will be an independent Czech Republic and an independent Slovak Republic, said Zdenek Zikmund, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The note also states that before the end of the year, the Czech and Slovak Republics can conclude international agreements with a third country, to take effect after the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federation.

In the note, the ministry also says that the governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics will be turning to individual countries with requests for diplomatic recognition and for opening up diplomatic relations at the embassy level as of January 1, 1993.

### Czech, Slovak Sides Agree on Dividing Embassies

*AU0712152392 Prague CTK in English 2108 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—The Czech and Slovak Republics reached agreements last week on dividing Czechoslovak embassies in the world's seven most industrialized nations and in countries bordering the two republics.

Rostislav Novy of the Czech Ministry for Foreign Relations informed the Czech parliament's Foreign Committee of the arrangement, but he did not name the countries specifically.

Czechoslovak embassies in these countries represent 40 percent of the property currently owned by Czechoslovakia abroad. Separate Czech and Slovak embassies in these countries will start operations on January 1. In certain cases, diplomats from one of the two successor states will rent space in the current Czechoslovak Embassy, Novy said.

The director of the Legal and Consular Department at the Czech Ministry for Foreign Relations, Roman Polasek, said the Czech parliament still had to issue a proclamation of independence to the parliaments and nations of the world before January 1, to be presented to the diplomatic corps in a Czech parliament ceremony.

The ministry will also send out individual notes to foreign embassies in Prague requesting diplomatic recognition for the Czech Republic.

### Slovaks Hold Talks With World Bank Representative

*AU0412143892 Prague CTK in English 1542 GMT 2 Dec 92*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 2 (CTK) — Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar held talks here today with World Bank Executive Chairman Bernard Snoy on economic issues and Slovakia's future membership in the international body. Speaking after the meeting, Meciar said talks centered on the World Bank's projects for economic assistance to Slovakia and on the possibility of additional loans. He said a center for strategic studies would be created within the Slovak Government Office to analyze economic trends and devise plans for Slovakia's future development.

Snoy, in an interview with the Slovak news agency TA SR, praised the Slovak Government's serious approach in drafting a 1993 state budget. He said Slovakia's plan for the strategic restructuring of its industry was thoughtfully worked out.

The World Bank is working on several concrete projects to assist Slovakia in the fields of energy, telecommunications and the environment. Loans from the World Bank to Czechoslovakia have already helped the macroeconomic development of the whole country, Snoy said.

### Meciar Says Social Spending Must Be Cut

*AU0712184892 Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 3 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar announced today that his government had no intention of wasting financial resources on unprofitable expenditures in social areas.

Meciar, speaking after a meeting with representatives of the Confederation of Unions in Bratislava, said we must invest the resources we obtain to revive the economy. He added that the state budget, in any case, would have to be balanced.

Meciar said the Slovak Government would take up the unions' proposals over the weekend, so that the parliament could discuss the budget on December 8.

He rejected Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus' statement on Wednesday [2 December] that the Slovak side had proposed the establishment of customs posts on the Czech-Slovak border, after the division of Czechoslovakia as of January 1.

He denied allegations now being spread among the public that possible social tensions in Slovakia would escalate as a result of Czechoslovakia's division. If there were a common state, the situation would be the same, even perhaps worse, Meciar added, declining to provide specifics.

Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak said the Slovak economy would reach bottom in 1993 and that he expected it to rebound in 1994.

### LSU Meeting Averts Split in Union

*AU0712155592 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech, 30 Nov 92 p 2*

[Report by "(pen)": "The Split in the Liberal Social Union Has Been Averted (For the Time Being)"]

[Text] Prague—"The Liberal Social Union [LSU] will stay united," Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Agrarian Party and chairman of the LSU Political Board, told a MLADA FRONTA DNES reporter after a LSU Political Board meeting yesterday, which lasted two and a half hours. Ladislav Dvorak, Czechoslovak Socialist Party chairman, confirmed this and he stressed that "all the discussions were conducted and steps were taken so as to make it possible for us to reach consensus." That means that the possibility, which Trnka himself had admitted on Czechoslovak Television Journal—that in several days the LSU could split into three separate units, the

Agrarian Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS], and the Green Party, was averted.

As is known, the conflict within the LSU came to a head after Deputy Pavel Hirsh, CSS secretary general, voted in the Czech National Council in support of the resolution proposed by the coalition, a resolution stating that the Czech National Council and the Czech Government are assuming responsibility for the preservation of the continuity of the state and the law on the territory of the Czech Republic. Hirs was immediately expelled from the LSU Club of Deputies, a step that Dvorak described as unfortunate. Among the ranks of the Agrarian Party, demands were even raised that the CSS should remove Hirs as the party's secretary general. "We have not dealt at all with the matter of Secretary General Hirs on the LSU Political Board, since this is the Czechoslovak Socialist Party's internal matter," Dvorak told us yesterday. The Czechoslovak Socialist Party chairman described as "pure rumors" the reports that on the Czech National Council, all the CSS members who are still in the LSU club are prepared to join the Club of Independent Liberals, as Hirs did. "The meeting of the representative body of our party on Saturday clearly expressed its opinion in favor of preserving joint LSU clubs on the Czech National Council, as well as in the Federal Assembly." Dvorak said.

"The LSU will soon work out certain procudural rules and it will respect them," Trnka said when asked how the union intends to prevent conflicts arising from differences of opinion, which can appear, for example, during the approval of the Czech Constitution. According to these rules, the LSU Presidium should take decisions based on agreement by all the participating entities, and if there is no such accord, voting should take place. A party that would not agree with such a decision should have the right, in Trnka's opinion, to express publicly its opinion, as an opinion of the majority.

## Parties Agree on 'Dignified' Creation of State

*AU0712152692 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS) and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) are interested in a calm and dignified creation of an independent and democratic Czech state, says a statement signed by CSS Chairman Ladislav Dvorak and ODS Deputy Chairman Josef Zieleniec.

The opposition CSS and the strongest coalition ODS said that they want to jointly work for building the foundations of Czech statehood.

To attain this common goal and to clarify some points at issue, in future we want to maintain close contacts, including top-level ones, the statement says.

The CSS is part of the Liberal Social Union, also including the Agrarian Party and the Green Party.

## SNS Submits Bill on Direct Elections

*AU0712180092 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 3 (CTK)— The Slovak National Party (SNS) has submitted a bill to the Slovak parliament calling for the establishment of a Slovak presidency, to be filled following direct elections after the republic attains independence on January 1.

SNS Deputy Chairman Anton Hrnko made the announcement at a press conference today in Bratislava. On the question of Slovak gold reserves, which are currently held under the federal control, he said a formal agreement had not yet been reached, but that he expected 7.5 tonnes of gold to be returned to Slovakia.

SNS Deputy Chairman for Foreign Affairs Ladislav Vlasic said the new Slovak state would not have the necessary resources to set up separate missions in all the countries in which it is currently represented by Czechoslovakia. He suggested appointing Slovaks living abroad as honorary consuls in certain selected states where (our) economic interest does not reach great proportions.

Vlasic said the SNS had already prepared a list of such potential representatives, who would be suited to posts in the diplomatic services.

## Knazko Views HZDS Slovak Presidential Nominee

*AU0812105892 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Dec 92 pp 1,2*

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Julius Gembicky; place and date not given: "Milan Knazko: I Do Not Object to Michal Kovac's Nomination, But..."]

[Text] [Gembicky] Mr. Knazko, at Thursday's [3 December] meeting with citizens in Presov Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], Deputy Chairman Michal Kovac announced that if the parliamentary political parties agree, he would accept the nomination for the post of first Slovak president. Reports are emanating from HZDS lobbies that a struggle has apparently been unleashed in the victorious political movement over the nomination for the office of president of the independent Slovak Republic. According to these reports, you are among the zealous candidates. Is there any truth in this?

[Knazko] There is no struggle, and our movement has not even made an official decision about the person to be nominated as its candidate for the office of president. I have already publicly expressed my personal view. It is also necessary to view Mr. Kovac's reply to a citizen's question in Presov—if this is what he replied—in the same spirit. In my personal opinion, the Slovak president should be someone from outside the Slovak political scene. He should be someone who is acceptable, first

and foremost, to the general public and also to the decisive political forces. He should be someone capable of being a kind of Slovak ambassador to the world. This was how I expressed my view of the election of the future president in NARODNA OBRODA.

[Gembicky] Are you thus discounting the possibility of your own candidacy?

[Knazko] I absolutely discount the possibility of my own candidacy. I could not be president. I do not have such ambition; I really think that in a situation where the HZDS holds the posts of prime minister and parliamentary chairman, it should not also hold the office of president.

[Gembicky] In essence, then, it is apparent from what you have said that you also reject the idea of Michal Kovac becoming president?

[Knazko] I have no objections; I have merely stated my personal opinion. Our movement's view will be submitted officially.

### Kovac To Accept Presidential Nomination If Asked

*AU0812105092 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Dec 92 p 2*

[TA SR report: "I Will Accept the Nomination for the Slovak Presidency"]

[Text] Presov—Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac's meeting yesterday evening with the citizens of Presov and the surrounding area lasted for more than two and a half hours. In response to a question on what he will do after the New Year, he said the following: "At the moment, I do not exactly know. I only know that I will continue to be a public official. There are various possibilities in this regard. I could return to the Slovak Government as deputy prime minister with responsibility for economic issues. I could become a candidate for the Slovak presidency, if the individual political parties agree; this is another possibility. If they nominate me, I will definitely accept the nomination."

### ODA Demands 1994 Elections To Determine Senate Composition

*AU0712133992 Prague CTK in English 1309 GMT 4 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 4 (CTK)—The creation of a Czech parliament Senate out of Federal Assembly deputies elected in the Czech Republic would destabilise the political situation and might result in early elections, Chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) Jan Kalvoda warned at a press conference today.

That is why the ODA prefers the Senate to be established on the basis of regular elections in 1994. The ODA is the only Czech Government coalition party opposed to the transfer of the 176 federal legislators elected in the Czech Republic after the federal parliament ceases to exist along with the split of the Czechoslovak Federation as of January 1, 1993.

The Slovak Republic has not yet decided about the future of the 124 federal legislators elected in the Slovak Republic. The creation of the second chamber of the Czech parliament, Senate, is proposed in the draft Czech Constitution which should be passed by the end of the year. Under the draft, the Senate would have 81 deputies, one third of whom would be altered every two years.

Kalvoda said that the risk of early elections would be topical if some federal parliamentarians from the opposition, which he believes is interested in new elections, rejected their transfer to the Senate.

He denied rumours that his party would threaten with withdrawing from the government coalition in this connection. This is how some media interpreted the statement on Thursday [3 December] by Oldrich Kuzilek, chairman of the ODA Czech parliament group. Kuzilek did not rule out the possibility of the ODA considering its further participation in the coalition if the federal legislators were transferred to the Czech parliament.

But Kalvoda joined Kuzilek in calling the problem most serious.

The ODA proposes that constitutional laws, which should be passed by an absolute majority separately in each of the two chambers under the draft constitution, should be adopted by a more qualified majority in the current Czech parliament until the Senate is established, Kalvoda said.

The ODA still sees direct election of the first Czech president as one of the possibilities, but does not insist on it. Neither will the party insist that the coalition agreement on cooperation in steering the Czech Republic be supplemented with a written agreement on the extension of the government in connection with the republic's becoming independent.

The demand for a written supplement has been made by the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL).

Kalvoda said the ODA will not make public its idea of filling new high-ranking posts in the Czech Republic before this is discussed by the coalition parties.

### Parliament Deputy Chairman Suffers Heart Attack

*LD0712211792 Prague CTK in English 1938 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 7 (CTK)—Filip Sedivy, 39, Czechoslovak parliament first deputy chairman, is in a satisfactory condition after he suffered a heart attack Saturday [5 December] morning, CTK was today told by Dino Alferi, chief doctor of the 3d Internal Department of the Most, North Bohemia, Hospital. Sedivy, a member of

the Civic Democratic Party, has been placed at the hospital's resuscitation ward.

Sedivy's permanent residence is at Litvinov in the Most district.

### Economic Study Reveals Monetary Union Untenable

*AU0512184192 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Dec 92 p 5*

[Report by "(dz)": "What Can Influence the Exchange Rate Between the Czech and Slovak Currencies"]

[Text] There are a number of differences between the Czech and Slovak economies that will—in the event of currency separation—have a considerable influence on the equilibrium of the two newly established currencies' mutual exchange rate. A study conducted by the Czechoslovak State Bank Economy Institute—called Monetary Cooperation Issues Between the CSFR's Successor States—deals with these differences and other circumstances.

The Czech economy's greater efficiency is cited first. In 1991, the productivity of labor in the Slovak Republic was 6-percent lower than in the Czech Republic and its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was 18-percent lower. At the same time, the productivity of labor in industry from January to June 1992 declined in the Slovak Republic by six points more than in the Czech Republic. The Slovak economy's greater import requirements and, at the same time, its lower exports also have to be taken into consideration here. The Slovak Republic's share in overall exports in 1991 was 26.6 percent (its GDP [gross domestic product] share was 29.6 percent). Its share in exports to market economies was even lower—around 25 percent. According to the study's authors, if we proceed from the forecast for the generation and utilization of GDP in 1992, the Czech Republic will realize net exports amounting to 11.5 billion korunas in comparison to the Slovak Republic's 5.8 billion korunas.

Asymmetry in the Czech and Slovak Republics' mutual economic relations—when the Slovak economy is more dependent on the Czech Republic from a marketing and supply point of view than the Czech Republic is on Slovakia and when the mutual balance of trade has long been in the Czech Republic's favor—is also important. The Czech Republic supplies the Slovak Republic with 12-15 percent of its industrial production, while the Slovak Republic supplies the Czech Republic with 26-32 percent of its industrial production. The mutual trade account in 1992 could amount to 13.5 billion korunas in the Czech Republic's favor. If we add this deficit, says the study, to the Slovak Republic's anticipated balance of payments current account deficit with respect to third countries, it is possible to arrive at a sum of almost 20 billion korunas. This means that the Slovak Republic would require $0.6-0.7 billion to finance this overall deficit. The Czech economy's greater ability to implement structural changes and adapt to new situations will also influence the two economies' prospects in the medium and longer terms.

The study also points out that when the state breaks up—when the unilateral transfer of resources stops (it is estimated that in 1992, 20-25 billion korunas were transferred from the Czech Republic to the Slovak Republic via the budgetary system alone) and when the mutual flow of goods becomes an element of the trade balance between the two countries—the aforementioned differences will place considerable pressure on the development of the two currencies' exchange rates. Speculative influences stemming from anticipated future exchange rate alterations could also play a role. The study, therefore, comes to the conclusion that it will probably be impossible in the longer term to maintain an equilibrium in mutual economic relations given an initial exchange rate of one to one and that—if the regulation of foreign currency management is to be avoided in the Slovak Republic—it will be necessary to devalue the Slovak currency.

### Slovak Banks Unable To Finance Privatization

*AU0612173892 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 2 Dec 92 p 2*

[Report by "svo": "Credits in the Slovak Republic Exhausted"]

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, the Slovak Government approved the first seven direct sales of state-owned enterprises within the framework of the first wave of privatization. Because of their apprehensions about the financing of these direct sales, state bank representatives raised objections to the above privatization projects. The banks and financial institutions state that the possibilities for extending credits have been exhausted and standard methods [of privatization] are becoming unfeasible, said Slovak Privatization Minister Lubomir Dolgos. According to his words, the Ministry of Privatization therefore intends to transfer 5 billion korunas worth of proceeds from small-scale privatization to banks for the purpose of [financing] large-scale privatization.

### Official Reviews Arms Conversion Process

*AU0712143592 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 30 Nov 92 p 7*

[Article by Vladimir Pavlik, director of Special Production Department at the Slovak Ministry of Economy: "We Should Not Neglect Defense Capability"]

[Text] It is a general trend all over the world to reduce the potential output of the arms industry. This is linked to the easing of international tension, and to the reduced possibilities of larger military conflicts. Reduced defense spending is one of the ways to release funds for solving economic and social problems in developing countries in particular.

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact caused Czechoslovakia to have a relatively large arms industry. Between 1976 and 1988, this industry underwent economic changes. By the decision [of the Warsaw Pact], heavy engineering production facilities were concentrated and built only on Slovak territory. Because of the central planning of the development of the production of heavy military technology, many large investment projects were set up—projects that placed a heavy financial burden on enterprises. It is impossible to use these production capacities for civilian production today, and they must be converted.

The introduction of sharp cuts in arms production—which became a political issue after 1989—thus caused insoluable economic problems, in Slovakia in particular. At the same time, it also caused great social problems. Foreign experts expressed astonishment over such a course of action, and described it as unprofessional.

**Negative Influences**

Apart from the sharp production cuts in heavy military tracked transporters and their appropriate ammunition, the enterprises designed for conversion were also damaged by the disintegration of the former CEMA market, and the former Soviet Union in particular. Civilian production declined, particularly the production of road building machines and construction machines, hydraulic machines, and large diesel engines. The recession in the construction sector of the domestic market and the insolvency of the agricultural sector had a further negative impact, and the recession in Western countries yet another one, since a consequence of this was that our exports to those places declined.

Arms production in Czechoslovakia reached its peak in 1987, reaching 29.3 billion korunas. Of this, Slovakia's share was 17.8 billion korunas, that is, 60.8 percent. Slovakia peaked in 1988, reaching 19.3 billion korunas.

Between 1976 and 1988, final products worth 144.5 billion korunas were manufactured, of which 83.3 billion korunas' worth were for export, and profits reached 49.6 billion korunas (of which 26.0 billion korunas' profit was from arms production). State budget receipts reached 51 billion korunas, of which 36.3 billion korunas was profit. Consistently high profit tax (more than 80 percent) and other indirect levies did not allow enterprises to create adequate financial resources from which they would be able to compensate for economic consequences and fluctuations in arms production.

The administration, according to directives on capital investments—particularly projects designed to ensure arms production, which were financed from the enterprises' own resources and credits—caused large debts among military technology enterprises. In the period from 1980 to 1990, between 60 and 90 percent of the capital of the most important enterprises was linked to arms production.

This monolithic orientation, controlled by the state plan until 1990, did not allow the creation of conditions for developing civilian production programs so as to allow a smooth transition to civilian production today. Enterprises to which the conversion applies now find that they do not have the money to finance the transformation of their production facilities.

**A Regional Problem**

Since the most important arms production facilities are concentrated in Slovakia, particularly Central Slovakia, the conversion of this production is also a regional problem.

The Slovak Government Resolution No. 6/1991 of January 1991 is the basic document, which implements the conversion process for arms technology enterprises. The consequence was a decline in output in Slovakia from 19.3 billion korunas in 1988 to 3.5 billion korunas in 1991 (in real terms).

The economic impact on the sectors of economy, industry, and production cooperatives (according to 1991 figures) was 7,993.3 million korunas. Based on this Slovak Republic Government Resolution, documents were drawn up and discussed in the CSFR Government in May 1991. The CSFR Government, with Resolution No. 326/1991, adopted principles determining the attitude of federal bodies toward the conversion of the arms industry, and agreed to prolong the existence of the 0.5 billion koruna special fund for military technology in 1991. Slovak enterprises received help from that fund to the tune of 420.0 million korunas.

By the adopted regulation of the Federal Finance Ministry No. VI-22734/91 regarding the solution of some problems linked to the conversion of arms production, the write-off amount for excess inventories was estimated at 2,387 million korunas, and 829.6 million korunas for unusable fixed assets. The real amount used for the write-off because of excess inventories was lower, however, since the enterprises used part of those inventories for their own activities. In the case of unused fixed assets, minimal amounts were involved, since the regulation applies only to the repayment of the remaining debt on fixed assets and to a lump-sum write-off—from the capital stock—of these fixed assets' residual value. This problems were simultaneously solved by writing off the enterprises' debts. In 1991, this sum was 2.7 billion korunas for Slovak enterprises designated for conversion to civilian production.

**What is the Federal Government Dealing With?**

In 1991, according to the CSFR Government (Resolution No. 326/1991 and Slovak Government Resolution No. 375/1991), 1.5 billion korunas was released in support of conversion projects. The Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic, after having concluded an agreement with the Federal Ministry of Economy, put forward 118 projects. After a commission at the Federal Ministry of Economy—in cooperation with the Federal Finance

Ministry—had passed its judgment, 1.2 billion korunas was assigned to 64 projects in Slovakia. Of the original projections of 1991, only some 60 percent of the funds were spent. State subsidies represented some 75 percent of the funds spent in 1991. The expected benefits of the projects were not achieved, either. In production and the creation of new jobs, some 55 percent of the original intentions were achieved in 1991. The implementation of other conversion projects—not on the 1991 state budget subsidy list — continued only to a minimal extent, and some projects, due to a lack of resources—but also owing to the market, were actually halted or discontinued altogether, as the case may be. In view of the given facts, the overall benefit of the new production programs was 1.3 billion korunas in 1991, and 5,057 job opportunities were created.

For this year, the CSFR Government, with Resolution No. 443/1992, agreed to provide 1.0 billion korunas to support conversion projects and, at the same time, defined the rules for awarding this funding. The maximum participation of the state budget is limited to 30 percent of investment costs for a project. An important condition for receiving financial support in 1992 is a complex financial coverage of the project.

**A Complicated Financial Situation**

In September 1992, the commission appointed by the federal minister of economy—based on a CSFR Government resolution—evaluated and selected the projects. It recommended for Slovak enterprises, with the federal minister of economy's approval, a subsidy of 792.1 million korunas for 47 projects.

It has become obvious from the applications for state participation submitted by the enterprises, that some projects are not secured financially. In the current financial situation, the banks do not want to provide new credits to these enterprises, since these enterprises are not capable of repaying the debt since their production—on which credit was provided—has stopped.

In 1993, as in 1991 and 1992, state subsidies from the state budget will be necessary to implement the conversion programs. After excluding some newly proposed and inefficient projects, in 1993, 1.2 billion korunas will be needed for these subsidies. It is expected that the projects will be gradually finished between 1993 and 1996.

Six to eight years would be needed to restructure the largest enterprises designed for conversion—this has become clear after international consultations. The most convenient solution would be to implement this process gradually, and to use, temporarily, the production capacity for arms production. It is necessary to continue this trend, while engaging in trade which is sustainable from the point of view of international policy. We must continue to manufacture, to a limited extent, the military hardware for our army to ensure our defense capability. Because of the control over military technology, it was decided that, within the privatization projects, production capacities will be singled out in selected arms enterprises. These capacities will be designated for arms production separately, in which the state will participate by 34 to 49 percent.

## Accord Dividing Army's Commitments Reached

*AU0712175692 Prague CTK in English 1648 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)— The future Slovak Defense Ministry should have 250 employees and its executive organ, the Army headquarters, should have 800, announced Colonel Bohumir Gerinec, Slovak Government commissioner for the construction of the Slovak Army, at a press conference here today.

For the time being, he said, Slovakia is preserving its present military structure, and will change it in stages. A concept of the Army will be evaluated later.

Gerinec said that one problem is that the Slovak Defense Ministry lacks experts in 91 fields.

Lieutenant Colonel Petr Luzny, director of the concept group of the Czech Government commissioner for the construction of the Czech Army, said that the concept of the Czech Army should be worked out by the end of March 1993. The transformation is expected to be finished in 1997.

LuzNy said that the pace of the transformation is a political decision. He said that a sudden decrease of troops would cause unemployment among both career and basic service soldiers, and that a gradual decrease would be expensive.

After the division of the Czechoslovak Federation, Czechoslovak units of United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces in Yugoslavia will be arranged and financed in a 2:1 ratio. This was established by an intergovernmental defense treaty, which was signed at the last meeting of the republics' premiers.

Colonel Vojtech Kubes from the Foreign Relations Headquarters of the Czechoslovak Army announced this at a press conference today. He said that the treaty also states that the Slovak side will take over UN observers' missions in Somalia and Angola, and the entire monitoring mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Yugoslavia.

He said that the Czech side will take part in the supervisory commission of neutral states in Korea, the UN observers' mission in the former Yugoslavia, and a UN guard contingent in Iraq.

[Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech on page 2 carries a 500-word Pavla Grunthalova report on the CSFR Ministry of Defense briefing, which includes the following additional passage: "METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF received an affirmative reply to its question

on whether the composition of the working group of the Czech Government commissioner for the construction of the Czech Army that it published on 23 November corresponds to reality. However, none of the Army representatives present was in a reply to our question concerning the past of this group and the number of graduates of Soviet military schools among its members. Likewise, none of the officials present was willing to reply to our question on whether they regard as proper the participation of graduates of Soviet military schools in this group, whose task is to prepare the concept of the Czech Army."]

### U.S. Requests Participation in Somalian Relief

*LD0712174992 Budapest MTI in English 1657 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—Somalia is a different case from Yugoslavia, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall underlined, saying that Hungary should participate in UN humanitarian relief to Somalia, but should not become involved in Yugoslavia in any way.

U.S. President Bush on December 3 asked Hungary to participate in the Somalian relief operation, Antall announced during parliament's Monday session. The Hungarian Government agrees that the armed gangs obstructing delivery of food to those in need must be stopped.

Participation in the international action may be in the form of medical and other deliveries, and a military unit of a few hundred soldiers may also be sent. The details are now being discussed.

After preparatory work has been completed and the comments of appropriate committees received, the proposal on Hungary's involvement in the humanitarian action will be tabled in parliament.

If parliament decides that the Hungarian Army should send a team of physicians or a small military group, or possibly both, to Somalia, participants would be volunteers, Defence Minister Lajos Fur said. He said Hungary was ready to meet the U.S. request, but conditions, for example financial terms, still need to be clarified.

### Ministry Spokesman on Somalia Relief

*LD0612102192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman by unidentified announcer; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The tragedy in Somalia is still able to shock the human race at the end of the 20th Century. [passage omitted] The United Nations came to the conclusion that urgent intervention is necessary. I asked Janos Herman, spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, about the factors behind the decision and the situation in Somalia.

[Begin recording] [Herman] Practically, the country has no leadership. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What is the primary task of the United Nations troops entering Somalia?

[Herman] It is completely obvious that the international community cannot watch with folded arms while tens and hundreds of thousands of people are dying in an, after all, hopeless situation.

[Announcer] But why are soldiers necessary to save people from starving to death?

[Herman] Somalia is full of violence. [passage omitted] It is perfectly unequivocal that the presence of soldiers is necessary, and what is more, at this moment it is only the presence of soldiers that can guarantee that the food consignments will reach the starving in an orderly manner.

[Announcer] The action will be a UN action on the basis of the resolution of the UN Security Council. At the same time, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the role of the armed forces of the United States is prominent. Why does the United States bend over backward, so to speak, in this instance, since this is not Kuwait, not the Gulf, there is no oil here?

[Herman] It is very difficult to say what exactly is behind this decision. But if the motivation behind all this is that, yes, on a moral basis and out of ethical initiative, and also on a humanitarian basis, those who are able to take steps do take steps, then this is a good thing. This is worth welcoming also from the point of view of the future, for it cannot be known where a similar situation might evolve in future. It also cannot quite be known whether as a result of this action where else the United Nations can undertake a bigger role. I shall not beat about the bush that I am also thinking of the crisis that has evolved in our neighborhood.

[Announcer] Do you mean that the American action could be taken as a hint; that is, the small Yugoslav leadership dominated by the Serb leadership should also realize that the United States is ready to intervene with large forces?

[Herman] I would not put it exactly like that. I do not think that a direct link can be found between the two crises. However, it can be safely said that a successful UN action at least holds out the prospect, indirectly, that if such a situation evolves somewhere else, and, after all, if it becomes totally clear somewhere else that there is not enough force locally to get out of it, then, yes, perhaps, a successful intervention in Somalia will bring this possibility a little closer.

[Announcer] Is there any Hungarian involvement, Hungarian citizens, or representation in this chaotic civil war in Somalia?

[Herman] No, there is no official Hungarian representation. We have quite seriously investigated this in the past weeks and earlier, and there are no Hungarian citizens there. As regards Hungary, it is known that Hungary does not participate in this action. Later, perhaps, we can examine what Hungary can do separately; I am thinking of aid consignments.

### Antall Sends Letter to President-Elect Clinton

*LD0712131292 Budapest MTI in English 1252 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Washington, December 7 (MTI)—In a letter addressed to U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall expresses his appreciation of relations between the two countries and the significance of U.S. foreign policy.

The letter was taken to Washington by State Secretary Gyula Kodolanyi, the prime minister's foreign policy advisor.

Briefing Hungarian correspondents in Washington, Kodolanyi said Hungary had a vested interest in maintaining comprehensive, regular and strong ties with the United States.

The state secretary arrived here on a one-week visit to meet senior officials of the outgoing Republican administration and resume talks with foreign and security policy experts of the new Democratic administration to take office in January.

The state secretary laid emphasis on security policy dialogue between the United States and Hungary. Up to now, Budapest was the only partner in East-Central Europe, with which Washington set up a joint security policy team. The latest session of the team took place in Bavaria.

Deputy Chairman Sandor Lezsak and MP Dezso Gyarmati, of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the biggest governing party, are also staying in Washington, on behalf of the Lakitelek Foundation.

Executives Istvan Szent-Ivanyi and Balint Magyar of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the largest opposition party, are negotiating with senior officials of the U.S. Administration and Congress this week.

### Sends Note to Bush

*LD0712090392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Excerpt] Hungary is ready to send a smaller medical, perhaps a military unit as well, to Somalia. This is what Jozsef Antall told the outgoing U.S. President George Bush. The exchange of letters was reported by the foreign political adviser of the Hungarian head of government, Gyula Kodolanyi, who arrived in Washington yesterday. He added that parliament was competent in the matter of an action in Somalia and it would be dealing with the issue today. [passage omitted]

## Government To Purchase U.S. Military Equipment

*LD0712194992 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—Hungary is the first former Warsaw Pact country to be allowed to buy U.S. military technology. U.S. Ambassador Charles Thomas told journalists in Budapest's Cultural Centre on Monday [7 December] of the sale to the Hungarian Army. He recalled it was a year since the U.S. president had approved the sale of U.S. military equipment to Hungary.

He also spoke about the increasing cooperation between Hungarian and U.S. Armed Forces, a new element of which is the Hungarian purchase of an air control system adjusted to Western standards.

In reply to an MTI query, it was stated that air force modernisation, which involves 118 tactical airplanes and 4 ground radar stations, would cost USD [U.S. dollars] 12.9 million, less than the HUF [Hungarian forint] 1.1 billion approved by parliament for this purpose.

[Minister of Defense Lajos] Fur praised the U.S. gesture of selling leading technology to Hungary.

## U.S. Congressman Promises Help With Dispute

*LD0612173692 Budapest MTI in English 1633 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Text] Washington, December 6 (MTI)—U.S. Congressman Christopher Shays said he will examine possibilities of Congress to help settle the Gabcikovo dispute, he told American Hungarian Environmental Fund President Bela Liptak.

Last month, Professor Liptak, of Hungarian descent, requested several influential Senate and House of Representatives members to submit a bill under which the US would grant most favoured nation status to a sovereign Slovakia only if the country gave up its plans to continue the operation of the Gabcikovo barrage, which is causing environmental catastrophe. Also, under the bill, Slovakia would get World Bank loans only if it met that condition.

Shays, a Democrat, said he would coordinate steps with Hungarian-born Congressman Tom Lantos.

At an American Hungarian Engineers' Society meeting in New York this weekend, Liptak publicized studies on how the Gabcikovo project threatens the existence of Lake Ferto, divided between Austria and Hungary. According to Liptak's findings, the lake's water level, which is low, anyway, will drop by spring or summer, due to the diversion of the Danube. Damming, in turn, will cause polluted water to flow into the lake, threatening it and the settlements near it with an environmental catastrophe.

The dangers require that Austria be invited to the EC Coordinating Committee, Liptak said.

## Relations With Moldova Viewed With Importance

*LD0412223792 Budapest MTI in English 1924 GMT 4 Dec 92*

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—"Hungary is sincerely open towards Moldova. The frequent high-level meetings also prove that Budapest considers relations with Chisinau to be important," the spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, Janos Herman, said, summarizing the experiences of the official visit of Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu to Budapest.

The Moldovan politician held a press conference in Budapest on Friday [27 November] evening.

On behalf of the hosts, the spokesman announced Budapest intends to elevate the level of its diplomatic

representation in Moldova to a higher level, it plans to send an ambassador to Chisinau. Hungary hopes Moldova will also shortly open diplomatic representation in Budapest.

Herman also said Foreign Minister Tiu favourably received the Hungarian proposal for Moldova to join the Hungarian-Ukrainian-Slovenian-Croatian "statement network," which sets down the principles of minority protection. According to the Moldovan foreign minister, Chisinau will be a part of this framework, as soon as the internal legislative conditions of this connection are realised in the country.

In totality, Budapest believes that Moldova's transformation is going well, in spite of the various conflicts, and the framework of modernization, economic renewal and privatization could be rapidly created.

With regard to the Moldovan home situation, Nicolae Tiu said the drought afflicting his country, and the conflict in the "eastern part of the country," have each caused damage of 40 billion roubles, according to their estimates.

Tiu said emphasis was placed on issues of minority protection during his talks in Hungary. In this context, he said Moldova ensures extensive rights to the national minorities living in its area. These rights are intensified by agreements concluded with Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Russia, the mother nations of the minorities.

At the same time, the Moldovan foreign minister noted with regret that the agreement on the rights of the Russian minority has so far not yet been ratified by Moscow.

Discussing the Dniester conflict that is in the background of the Russian-Moldovan differences, Foreign Minister Tiu said Moldova believes the issue is a political, rather than an ethnic one.

The Moldovan leadership believes the old empirical mentality is responsible for the tensions. According to Chisinau's position, the most important condition for resolving the conflict is to withdraw the 14th Army stationed along the Dniester as soon as possible. Contrary to the Russian approach, Moldova does not at all see the troops as a stabilizing factor.

Foreign Minister Tiu said the withdrawal of the 4,000 Russian soldiers would not cause problems for Moscow, but Chisinau would even consent to having them remain in Moldova if they join the republic's Armed Forces.

The foreign minister termed as completely groundless the fears of the Russian-speaking population along the Dniester, all the more so as an agreement between Moldova and Russia sets down that autonomy is due the area in the case of a possible unification between Romania and Moldova.

## Response to Iliescu's Statement on Minorities

*LD0512170692 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 5 Dec 92*

[Text] Paris, December 5 (MTI)—The joint statement issued by Hungary and Russia during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Hungary is based on the guidelines of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, says a press communique released by Hungary's embassy in Paris on Friday [4 December].

The communique responded to Romanian President Ion Iliescu's concerns he had expressed at a press conference in Paris a few days earlier. Iliescu said the Hungarian-Russian statement's clauses on minorities "pose a danger to regional equilibrium" and "are concessions made in favour of nostalgia towards the former Soviet Union and the Russia Army."

According to the Hungarian Embassy's communique, the Hungarian-Russian statement, issued by Yeltsin and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on 11 November, condemns intolerance, racist incitement of hatred and policies of "ethnic cleansing." Also, it complies with current documents of the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe, Hungarian Ambassador to Paris Janos Szavai said presenting the document at a press briefing.

The Hungarian-Russian joint statement is based on the stands of international organizations of which Romania is also a member, or which it wants to join in future, says the Hungarian embassy's communique.

## $2.3 Billion of Foreign Debt To Be Repaid

*LD0712160192 Budapest MTI in English 1056 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—Hungary has to repay USD [U.S. dollars] 2.3 billion worth of foreign debt next year, a senior National Bank of Hungary (NBH) official told MTI.

However, deputy department head Akos Cseres said it was increasingly difficult to make estimates as more Hungarian firms were raising money abroad. This year, firms took out about USD 700 million in foreign loans, and the conservative estimate for next year is USD 600 million.

In 1993, the NBH plans to issue USD 1-1.5 billion worth of bonds abroad and expects foreign working-capital investment to remain unchanged at USD 1 billion.

Also, the NBH is likely to have access next year to instalments under a three-year agreement with the International Monetary Fund, providing a loan of USD 400 million. This year, the NBH did not draw instalments under the agreement.

The World Bank and the Japanese Export-Import Bank are expected to grant Hungary total loans of USD 350-400 million.

## Labor Minister on Employment Policy, Unemployment

*AU0812111792 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Dec 92 p 5*

[Interview with Labor Minister Gyula Kiss by Judit O. Varga; place and date not given: "Employment Policy Focuses on the Provinces"]

[Text] "To keep the ministry away from low-level political allures, and only tough professionalism can serve as a guarantee for this," Labor Minister Gyula Kiss told us in connection with one of the major tasks facing his ministry.

[Varga] As a minister without portfolio, you prepared the setting up of the compensation office. Why did you accept to head one of the toughest ministries in 1990?

[Kiss] The difficulties were already clear at that time, and this did not come as a surprise at all. First of all, we had to reach the unemployed immediately and make sure that none of them remain without any help. We almost had to recreate an absolutely primitive labor affairs system. On a long-term basis, we also had to guarantee our ministry's involvement in dealing with the problem of unemployment. The relevant legal and institutional systems had to be created as well. We have no reason to be ashamed. The Labor Code and the public employment law have been formulated in accordance with European basic laws. Despite the two modifications, I gladly accept the employment law because, at the very beginning, I presented this bill to parliament as a bill that can be modified every six months, because one has to be flexible enough in this area. Besides, this modification only contributed to the text from a professional viewpoint. The bill on professional training is also ready; we are only waiting for the educational bill to be submitted to parliament, and I hope that the labor safety bill will also be submitted to the government this year.

[Varga] What other successes has your ministry achieved?

[Kiss] The two major employment policy institutions have been set up. The labor affairs centers and their branches are operating, and they succeeded in coordinating the passive and active methods of dealing with labor problems. This must also be appreciated by Western Europe, where unemployment benefits and job creation are financed from different sources. Out of the planned ten retraining centers, the ones in Miskolc, Pecs, and Debrecen are already operational. I think this is extremely important, because it will be much easier to deal with unemployment deriving from restructuring with an adequate training and retraining system. I think that the importance of employment policy will really increase after the recession. It would be a tremendous conceptual mistake to plan things differently.

[Varga] Your ministry has repeatedly stated that it is impossible to curb unemployment with an employment policy alone. It also requires an adequate economic policy. Can we expect the advancement of the employment issue in the government?

[Kiss] The government regards it as a major task to facilitate the development of a market economy and to curb inflation. For this, we had to accept unemployment. In the future, we will concentrate mainly on strengthening the regional employment policy while maintaining the central measures aimed at curbing inflation. It is also possible to create new jobs by making better use of regional endowments.

[Varga] However, after a certain level, the economy can no longer finance unemployment....

[Kiss] That is true, but unemployment in Hungary can still be financed today, and it will also be manageable next year. Naturally, it is also an important viewpoint that unemployment is not only an economic category, but it can also cause serious domestic political instability.

[Varga] In the Interest Coordination Council, the trade unions accused the government of lacking an employment policy. In the agreement, you promised to prepare such a policy by February....

[Kiss] Look, one has to read the National Renewal Program that clearly contains the employment concepts of the Antall government. This is why I can say that there is no problem whatsoever in reviewing the issue of employment by February, and not by discarding the original program. That is a good guideline, and there is no miracle cure against unemployment today either. Naturally, we are open to proposals, and we also expect the proposals of employers and trade unions....

[Varga] The Interest Coordination Council has approved the agreement of the six trade unions on property and policy, an agreement you opposed. Why did you stick to your original position?

[Kiss] We have nothing against this partial agreement, except the fact that it is not complete. I was particularly upset about the fact that the trade unions wanted to merge their own property issues with the issues formulated in the other five points, issues that clearly dealt with the workers' interests. They would have gotten rid of the five points too had it not been for the sixth point that deals with them. Therefore, we agreed to come to an agreement with the trade unions by 10 December.

[Varga] You accepted the position of labor minister on behalf of the Smallholders' Party. You are carrying out your work with the support of a party that is also struggling with its own weaknesses. How can you plan the future in this respect?

[Kiss] I cannot say that I am in a fortunate situation. However, I have been gladly representing the interests of the peasants from the very beginning. Fortunately, 36-37 people remained from the 44-member faction of the split Smallholders' Party. Although none has a good word about the Smallholders' Party today—in my opinion, it is of value that 36 people succeeded in preserving their

unity, out of political responsibility for the fate of the country. Otherwise, a serious coalition crisis would have emerged here.

[Varga] Press reports last week spoke of your dismissal, too....

[Kiss] That is a hoax. Unfortunately, low standard debates have been on the increase in today's political life. One of my toughest goals is precisely to get rid of the substandard allures serving daily politics. Precise professionalism could be our strongest defense. Only this can give us prestige.

### Budget Committee Chairman Views Budget Debate

*AU0812093092 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 92 p 12*

[Interview with Attila Karoly Soos, parliamentary deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats and chairman of the Parliamentary Budget Committee, by "M.M."; place and date not given: "State Budget '93—Billions That Can Be Saved"]

[Text] The budget deficit can be even 40 billion forints more than the planned amount. A savings of some 25 billion forints is possible in the administrative sphere, and this can be used for giving incentives to enterprises and alleviating the social tensions, Attila Karoly Soos says.

[NEPSZABADSAG] It seems to me that the budget debate was more heated last year.

[Soos] Disagreements within the coalition characterize this year's debate. For this reason, the government probably thinks that when they have an agreement, there is no need for the views of the opposition.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is the point in discussing the budget when a number of issues—taxes or the level of compensation—have not yet been clarified?

[Soos] There is not much point, especially since the 1993 budget plan does not contain the desirable structural changes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In your view, what are the biggest problems?

[Soos] We can see two big problems. Incentives for enterprises are missing and it does not deal with the problems of those groups that are becoming poorer.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What are your recommended solutions?

[Soos] We have two big initiatives that obviously do not change the basic structure of the budget.

One is that, wherever it is possible, expenditures have to be reduced. We suggest the reduction of expenditures at the ministries that deal with the economy. In addition, we have found considerable increases in expenditures at the Interior Ministry, which affect the administration of the ministry, rather than the police. The interest payments on the state debt were calculated at a higher rate than the expected level. We have already suggested the reduction of the Finance Ministry's "other" expenditures in 1991.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Approximately how much money can be gathered this way?

[Soos] If we take the loss of the debt repayment to Russia, and we have the possibility of a 100-billion forint development of the Army's weapons—meaning that the originally intended 66.5 billion for defense can be somewhat reduced—then, altogether, some 25 billion forints in expenditures can be saved.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How would you spend the saved amount?

[Soos] It would be best to leave this money with the local governments. There, it can be used directly for social goals and, not least, providing for the unemployed. The current system of distributing unemployment benefits will soon be a huge task for the local governments. We suggest that 40, rather than 30, percent of the personal taxes should be left with the local governments.

We also suggest raising the level at which the income from personal taxes can be supplemented if it does not reach the national average. The government is intending to give 3,400 and 4,600 forints for this, depending on whether it is a town or a village. We recommend that these amounts be raised to 4,600 and 5,600 forints. This proposal costs some 18 billion forints.

The fact that the government is planning to have less income from privatization by an order of magnitude cannot be accepted either.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How would you use the privatization revenues?

[Soos] We would use them to increasingly support the various funds that are to boost the economy. The first one is the support for the Employment Fund, and we welcome the fact that the Interest Coordination Council's session accepted this. We also suggest that we increase the Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Fund, the Small Enterprise Guarantee Fund, and the Regional Development Fund that is to be given to the most crisis stricken areas.

[NEPSZABADSAG] To what extent will it be possible to maintain the planned level of the budget deficit?

[Soos] It will definitely exceed the planned level because the expenses related to unemployment can be higher, while the revenue from banks and value added tax can be smaller than planned. The government is also too optimistic in its estimates on corporate tax revenue. All in all, the actual amount of the deficit can be 40-60 billion

forints more. This can lead to further state loans which might "dry up" the domestic credit market.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is it justified to involve foreign resources?

[Soos] Yes. It would not do any harm if the surplus of the foreign payment balance was reduced or if it went into the red by a small amount because the enterprises would begin to invest. However, it is only justified for the private sphere to become indebted and not the increase of the state debt.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Would the members of the Alliance of Free Democrats vote for the 1993 budget?

[Soos] We can support it with our votes if the government accepts the majority of our recommendations. I find this very unlikely.

### Hall Named Conservative Party Chairman

*LD0612135892 Warsaw PAP in English 1315 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—Aleksander Hall, until recently leader of the forum of the Democratic Right (FPD), was elected chairman of a new Conservative Party (PK) founded on Sunday [6 December] by the FDP, republican coalition and a splinter group of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD).

A resolution passed by the founders of the new party stresses the conviction about "the necessity to unify forces for work in favour of a free and modern Poland and to respect traditional values."

In a letter addressed to the participants in the unification congress, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka expressed hope that the new grouping will remain a "stable link of the present ruling coalition."

The Congress is now debating on a draft ideological and programmatic declaration of the conservative party which refers to the need "to revive citizens' society and free economy" and "to respect Christian heritage and the Polish identity."

### Party Remains in Coalition

*LD0612210992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Text] Aleksander Hall, chairman of the Conservative Party, which was formed today, said at a news conference that his party will remain a member of the government coalition and the Polish Convention Parliamentary Floor Group.

The parliamentarians belonging to the Conservative Party are going to exert pressure for a radical change in next year's budget. In their opinion the draft budget law does not guarantee the reduction of inflation, the strengthening of the currency, and the fight against recession.

Aleksander Hall denied that the formation of the Conservative Party would be a stage on the road to forming a large center right bloc. Apart from the groupings allied in the convention, he described certain milieux in the Centre Alliance, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, and the Democratic Union as possible partners.

During the congress the Conservatives spoke against the referendum on abortion, but in favor of moderating the anti-abortion law.

### Polls Suggest Longer Life for Suchocka Government

*AU0512192292 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Nov 92 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Renata Wrobel: "Government To Last Longer, Election According to Schedule"]

[Excerpts] In the opinion of every other Pole, the government of Hanna Suchocka will survive the next 12 months, i.e. at least until next autumn. One-quarter of Poles think the government will not survive, and one-fifth have no definite opinion. This is the result of an opinion poll commissioned by RZECZPOSPOLITA and conducted by the Social Research Institute [PBS] on a sample of 1,093 adults on 14-15 November. [passage omitted]

The result of the PBS survey is echoed by the result of a similar survey by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] conducted on 13-15 November, in which 56 percent of the respondents said the present government would last one year or more. [passage omitted]

Those who believe in the government are mainly young people aged up to 24 with secondary or higher education, employees paid out of the state budget, unemployed persons (especially pupils and students), managerial personnel, self-employed persons, and white-collar workers, whereas those who think the government will not last very long are mostly aged above 60, on low incomes, farmers, or persons employed in private enterprises.

### Suchocka Opposes Abortion Referendum

*LD0712141492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] As a deputy I am against abortion but I am also against punishing abortion. I am also against a referendum, said Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY. She added that the government, as a whole, will not involve itself on either side and that she herself was speaking about these matters outside her capacity as prime minister. Speaking to the paper's reporter she clearly stressed that the present government coalition has passed the test in all fundamental and essential matters. She also declared that her relations with the Belweder [presidential palace] are not only correct but good. Answering a question about the possible enlargement of the coalition Hanna Suchocka said that the decision in this matter belongs to the leaders of the groupings which make up the coalition and not to the government or the prime minister.

### Government Communique on Agreement With IMF

*WS0712133392 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1806 GMT 3 Dec 92*

["Government Press Office Communique"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] At today's session, the Council of Ministers examined the results of negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and accepted the draft of the letter of intention "Polish Government's Memorandum on Economic Policy" that is to be forwarded to the IMF. It also empowered the minister of finance to submit to the IMF

director, M. Camdessus, in consultation with the president of the National Bank of Poland, an application to sign an agreement.

The Polish Government is determined to continue taking measures aimed at achieving financial stabilization and a long-lasting ability to pay debts as well as at transforming the structures of our economy in such a way as to create conditions for economic growth as quickly as possible. On the basis of these intentions, the 1993 program has been prepared. The program was described in the "Polish Government's Memorandum on Economic Policy."

Poland successfully negotiated its first agreement with the International Monetary Fund in December 1989 and concluded it in early 1990. It was then replaced with another agreement, which was supposed to cover the period from 1991 to 1994. In the fall of 1991, the agreement was broken because Poland violated the executive criteria agreed on with the Fund.

The agreement being negotiated now, which would be in force until the end of 1994, is based on "Socioeconomic Policy Assumptions for 1993" accepted by the Sejm, next year's budget bill, and on fiscal policy assumptions for the next year. The agreement would be concluded on the same terms as the three-year agreement that was suspended in 1991.

If Poland concluded the agreement, it would have special drawing rights, that would allow it to obtain a loan from the IMF equivalent to U.S. $700 million. The agreement also enables it to continue [word indistinct] and also a chance to obtain a loan of over U.S. $1 billion.

Moreover, the agreement creates conditions for achieving a 20 percent reduction of the Polish debt with the Paris Club in April 1994. It also paves the way to negotiations with the London Club, which comprises [passage missing].

## Arendarski Discusses Foreign Economic Relations

*WS0712133792 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1437 GMT 2 Dec 92*

["Report on the session of the Committee of Economic Relations with Abroad and Maritime Economy; Questions for the Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Andrzej Arendarski"—SERVIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text]

### What Is the Ministry Doing About the Problem of the Outflow of Foreign Currencies From the Country

The minister was asked what the ministry was doing about this issue. According to the data, about U.S. $750 has been taken abroad in the past nine months. Minister A. Arendarski stated that foreign currencies, illegally taken out of our country, are a detriment to our budget. Therefore, the minister of internal affairs has been given permission to take administrative measures to regulate the trade at the eastern border.

Minister A. Arendarski stressed that it is necessary to eliminate economic tourism, but at the same time to regulate economic exchange at the state level.

### No New Developments on the Issue of Exchange of Crops for Gas

When answering this question, the minister said that this problem cannot be solved if the problem of the monopolist, the Polish Gas Mining enterprise, is not resolved. In view of the difficulty in buying gas in Russia, other independent sources must be found.

### Using the Stabilization Fund

Asked about the use of the Stabilization Fund, the minister said that all of it has already been used as an aid for Polish banking.

### The Necessity To Form a Concept of Customs Police Activities

Minister Arendarski said that it is urgent that our own concept of the customs police be developed. The ministry has money earmarked for this project.

### Food Trade Policy

Asked about this issue, A. Arendarski said that our food exports exceed imports and that limiting imports artificially may cause restrictions on the part of other countries.

### Polish-German Talks on Licenses for Polish Building Companies

A. Arendarski, asked about Polish-German talks concerning concessions for Polish construction firms, said that the Germans introduce many limitations to protect their own labor market. It was also said that nothing is being done to try to sell Polish military equipment in the East.

The session ended.

## Balcerowicz Views Economic Reform Progress

*AU0512172692 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Nov 92 pp 8, 9*

[Interview with Professor Leszek Balcerowicz, former finance minister, by Malgorzata Pokojska; place and date not given: "Between Economics and Politics"]

[Text] [Pokojska] Does politics pose a threat to the economy and market-oriented reforms?

[Balcerowicz] Over the past three years, there has been a decline in the extent to which the economy is dependent on the political scene. I believe that to be one of the most significant changes to have occurred. Previously, the economy was politicized to an extreme degree because it

was nationalized to an extreme degree. Denationalization means reducing the economy's susceptibility to political influence. Despite the instability on our political scene, there are signs of growth in the economy. This does not, however, mean that today the economy is completely unaffected by political events—besides, that is the case everywhere in the world.

[Pokojska] So, in what areas and to what extent is it dependent on political developments?

[Balcerowicz] Politics determines both the pace and direction of changes in the economic system, just as the monetary situation has an impact at the macroeconomic level. The main issue in the first area is, above all, to preserve the important achievement of the preceding period, an economy that is fundamentally liberal, and to accelerate the privatization process.

[Pokojska] What kind of economy is a liberal one?

[Balcerowicz] An economy in which freedom and, thus, competition prevail. An economy in which the results of producers' actions do not depend primarily on the state, but on their energy and ingenuity. The state does not interfere in details such as setting prices, does not determine who is and who is not to become involved in economic activity, and it creates a set of rules that is uniform to the maximum possible extent. Without that kind of system, our economy would not display the kind of vigor that is apparent. The government, however, is being pressurized by various interest groups that want to either eliminate competition or obtain a financially preferential position. One has to remember that this always occurs at someone else's expense—that of the consumer, who is exploited by the producer protected from competition, or the taxpayer, who has to pay for concessions that have been wrested by pressure groups.

[Pokojska] What is your assessment of the impact that politics has on ownership changes or the future character of the economy?

[Balcerowicz] Privatization is very susceptible to political demagogy, which causes economic harm to everyone, and hampering the privatization process by creating an atmosphere around it that paralyzes decisionmaking is also harmful. Meanwhile, delaying privatization extends the period of instability in an enterprise, causes its condition to worsen, reduces its value, and, thus, lowers its price. That price, compared to the one that could have been obtained if a decision had been made in a timely fashion constitutes a tangible loss for society. A further loss is incurred by virtue of the fact that putting off privatization also delays the day when an enterprise's economic performance will improve. There are also losses due to frequent changes in the holders of posts connected with privatization.

[Pokojska] Why is the mass privatization program eliciting such negative feelings in the Sejm?

[Balcerowicz] It is as if the program reflects the link between politics and privatization in a nutshell. There are no economic or social reasons for torpedoing the program. It is no worse than the program introduced in Czechoslovakia. It is only another variant of unconventional, rapid privatization. It is an example of how democracies can differ. The Polish version of the democratic system has already resulted in mass privatization being delayed by over a year.

[Pokojska] Next year's budget is being discussed. How do politics and politicians influence the drawing up of the budget and the monetary situation—that is, the economy at the macroeconomic level?

[Balcerowicz] The budget is a political issue—a good gauge of thinking about the country as a whole—as well as an economic issue because it has a direct impact on the stability of the currency. The key to stability is that certain limits to the budget deficit cannot be exceeded. In the present situation, 5 percent of the gross domestic product should be regarded as the maximum ceiling.

[Pokojska] Some people maintain that that is an optimistic piece of fiction. What will happen if they are proven right?

[Balcerowicz] I think that it is possible to keep to that level. However, if a greatly unbalanced budget were approved, then that would be at the expense of the value of our currency and would put a question mark over growth prospects. Every decision should be assessed in terms of whether it weakens or strengthens the zloty. A stable currency is something that benefits everyone—if its value declines, then everyone loses out. That is why those who call for greater expenditure without some genuine means of financing it are false defenders of the people.

[Pokojska] What is your assessment of the view that the economy requires more money? Recently, the Sejm summed up the Polish National Bank's policy as restrictive.

[Balcerowicz] One should not succumb to absurd theories aimed at a naive audience about how increasing the amount of money in the economy can stimulate output without harmful inflationary repercussions. Comparing the economy to a dry sponge or a desert misleads public opinion; it suggests that money is like life-giving water, of which there is only a trickle now. Unfortunately, the analogy is false. The true analogy is that of pouring petrol onto a fire, a kind of economic pyromania. One can print money, although that should definitely not be done, but capital cannot be printed and capital is what development depends on. Some advocates of stimulating growth by pumping money into the economy cite Keynes' theory. I thinking Keynes must be turning in his grave.

[Pokojska] In connection with next year's budget, the government is proposing to raise personal income taxation. Does the condition of public finances justify that?

[Balcerowicz] I have considerable misgivings about simultaneously freezing thresholds and raising the upper taxation band to 50 percent. I even think that there is no financial justification for this second proposal. It will only lead to a slight increase in revenue if at all; it will diminish the incentive for engaging in economic activity, and increase the temptation to avoid paying taxes.

[Pokojska] Against this background, how do you view the gestures that some members of the government have been making toward enterprises, promising "an industry policy" or financial assistance in general?

[Balcerowicz] Under no circumstances should a situation arise in which an enterprise has money, regardless of how it works or whether it sells the goods it produces or not. That is a recipe for inefficiency and inflation. "Moderate budget constraints on the enterprise" was one the main features of the previous economic system that collapsed under the weight of its own inefficiency. An enterprise has to function in such a way that it makes money in a competitive environment.

[Pokojska] Are you an advocate of the "state enterprise pact?"

[Balcerowicz] I am not a doctrinaire opponent of the pact. It does not contain any commitments to the effect that the government will provide enterprises with money irrespective of how they function.

[Pokojska] But it does mention a wage fund for enterprises that are sliding into bankruptcy....

[Balcerowicz] As I understand it, the fund is to be limited and set aside solely for that purpose. If that is so, then it should not pose a threat. What would be dangerous is a situation in which the government would assume responsibility for supplying enterprises with money.

[Pokojska] In your opinion, what should the pact be like?

[Balcerowicz] The pact should serve to accelerate privatization, one reason being that it would allow wage controls to be abolished in a sensible fashion. Privatization creates a counterweight to wage pressures in enterprises and, thanks to the fact that enterprises operate better as a result, it creates a greater possibility of gradually increasing real wages.

[Pokojska] Meanwhile, many privatization decisions have been delayed in anticipation of the signing of the pact....

[Balcerowicz] Sometimes it is necessary to take a step back in order to move forward more rapidly later.

[Pokojska] So far, the trade unions have undoubtedly benefited from the pact. Should one not be afraid that they will become too strong?

[Balcerowicz] The political framework for economic changes in Poland has not been advantageous so far, but the idea of reaching agreement with society on important issues is correct. On the other hand, it would be wrong to accord the trade unions a specially privileged position. I would also be afraid of constant wage negotiations between the government and numerous central trade union bodies. After all, the government has to work.

[Pokojska] So, is there a danger that we will be governed by trade unions?

[Balcerowicz] There are also positive elements in the talks with trade unions—for example, "Solidarity" and the National Trade Union Confederation agree that for a certain period of time, consumption should grow more slowly than national income so that more can be invested and as a result, the level of consumption will be higher in the longer term. It is wise not to eat away one's future. In general, there are two types of trade unions: those that are only interested in wage increases, irrespective of the situation in an enterprise or the country, and those that recognize the need for growth and the creation of new jobs in a competitive economy. I believe that society should make trade unions accountable for what they are seeking. Besides, political parties should be assessed similarly.

[Pokojska] According to what criteria do you assess political parties.

[Balcerowicz] On the basis of what they are doing to stabilize the political system—their position on the electoral code issue is one such gauge—and whether they do or do not engage in political and economic demagogy.

[Pokojska] If the government requests the power to issue decrees, which the Small Constitution permits, what issues connected with the economy should be resolved by way of decrees?

[Balcerowicz] The problem is that the most pressing issues are the most difficult ones—for example, the budget and the laws accompanying it. However, in such democratic countries in which there has been recourse to special powers—Belgium is an example—it was usually to solve financial difficulties. It was feared that political bickering and infighting between narrow interest groups would lead to a solution that would be bad for everyone, including those involved in the bickering.

## Walesa for Closer Cooperation With Ukraine

*LD0712223192 Warsaw PAP in English 2203 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 7—President Lech Walesa on Monday [7 December] sent a letter to his Ukrainian counterpart Leonid Kravchuk in which he suggests the setting up of a consultative committee of presidents of Poland and Ukraine aimed at better coordination of joint activities. The committee would deal with issues related to border cooperation, combating crime and finding legal solutions in line with European standards.

## Minister Stresses Importance of Trade With CIS

*AU0712175092 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT 2 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—Andrzej Arendarski, minister of foreign economic relations, said on Wednesday [2 December] said that the most important and most difficult thing for Poland is to straighten her economic relations with her eastern neighbours.

To maintain these relations is a matter of Poland's reason of state, Arendarski told the Sejm (lower house) Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

Mutual trade exchange is, however, hampered by the fact that the countries of the former Soviet Union lack hard currency. As a result, Polish exporters of pharmaceuticals, ships, arms and farm produce have suffered enormous losses.

According to Arendarski, the Polish economy's dependence on oil and gas supplies from her eastern neighbours and the unsolved problems of debts also have an unfavourable impact on the normalization of Poland's relations with the former Soviet republics.

"Despite these difficulties the maintenance of good economic relations with these partners is dictated by the Polish reason of state," Arendarski stated.

## Suchocka Meets Peasant Party Leadership

*AU0712175292 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT 2 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Wednesday [2 December] said that the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord (PSL-PL) was a responsible member of the ruling coalition.

During a meeting with the Supreme Council of the party, she said that "it is extremely important for me to meet representatives of the party that shows responsibility for the country." She stressed that the coalition is made up of parties linked together by responsibility and concern for the state.

Referring to resolutions adopted at the recent congress of the party, its chairman Gabriel Janowski emphasized that the PSL-PL is guided by traditional values of the peasant movement and Solidarity. "We combine the past with the future," he said.

He stressed that the party's programme concerning the agriculture overlaps with the government programme entitled "chances for the countryside and agriculture."

The prime minister announced the gradual implementation of the programme, saying however that "the programme concerning agriculture must converge in outline with the general guidelines of socio-economic policy."

## PSL—PL Board Holds Inaugural Session

*WS0712133892 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1646 GMT 2 Dec 92*

[Text] Report on the inaugural session of the Supreme Board of the Polish Peasant Party—Peasant Agreement (PSL—PL), attended by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

Before entering the conference room, Hanna Suchocka waited in her car for approximately half an hour. Allegedly, a bomb had been planted in one of the neighboring buildings. In the session room, this incident was explained in the following manner: the bomb had been planted "by terrorists from another peasant party. [no closing quotation marks as received]

### The Issue of Dismissal of the Supreme Chamber of Control President (NIK)

When answering numerous questions from the PSL—PL members, Suchocka said that the task of dismissing and appointing the NIK president is "fortunately not up to the government, but the legislature."

### Functioning of the State Treasury's Agricultural Property Agency

H. Suchocka partly shared the PL delegates' misgivings about the functioning of the State Treasury's Agricultural Property Agency. She said that the government intervenes where there are blatant deficiencies.

### Content of Polish Television Broadcasts

She rejected, however, numerous suggestions that she intervene in the content of Polish television broadcasts. According to the PSL—PL, they favor the former ZSL (United Peasant Party). The prime minister said that television in Poland is not government-run, and it is the integrity and the feeling of responsibility of the journalists that determine the value of the broadcasts.

### PSL—PL Party of Responsibility for the Whole Country

Suchocka said that PSL—PL is a party that may be characterized as responsible for the country and that all the criticism of the government coming from this party are viewed from such a perspective. She stressed that the government is on the threshold of putting into effect the chances for the country project.

### Complaints About Registering ZSL as PSL and About Favoring PSL on Television

Members of the Supreme Board of PSL—PL complained that the registration of ZSL as PSL "is a cabinet activity and had PSL not stolen the name, it would not have so many deputies in the legislature." They also said that PL members are in the background in agricultural television broadcasts, while the party of Waldemar Pawlak is in the foreground.

**What Can Affect the Future of the Coalition?**

Attention was also paid to the poor functioning of banks that are supposed to give credits to agriculture. It was pointed out that the banks are dominated by former ZSL activists, "which may affect the future of the coalition."

**Moral Destruction of the Nation**

PSL—PL Supreme Board members are also worried about the moral destruction of the nation, in which the mass media play a major part, for example Polish Radio Three, where the song called "The Song of the Young Bandits" is played.

## Katowice TV Interviews Walesa on Upper Silesia

*WS0712133292 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 2104 GMT 3 Dec 92*

[Text] On the eve of miners' day, the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa, gave an interview in the Katowice regional center of the Polish television network.

For decades, the truth about Silesia was kept secret; now information about this region and about the people who live there is becoming widely known and is also causing controversy, even conflicts. Asked to comment on this problem, the president said: "It is now possible to learn the truth, due to the Third Republic, freedom, and pluralism. Why should pluralism and a free Poland pay for this? Shall we return to keeping it all secret as it was under the old system? I do not want that. (...)

"A good tree cannot bear bad fruit. (...) Therefore, good things, freedom, an opportunity to develop properly, and the truth cannot be paid for with a separation, some kind of war. It would be illogical. Let us learn how to benefit from all the boons freedom has brought to us. And at the same time, let us learn to solve problems quickly. Because they do exist, but they could become evident only in these circumstances (...) which the revolution has brought to us. This revolution cannot pay the bills for the former system. The only solution: we must all work to cooperate to solve the most crucial problems, and not focus on secondary issues.

"Today the fundamental issue is to find new solutions and directions—how to stop polluting Silesia, how to solve the problem of unprofitable mines, and first of all, how to provide good living conditions for all the people who will be laid off by the mines. Therefore, we should not close down first, but initially find them new jobs, and only then close down."

When commenting on the idea of autonomy and regionalization of Silesia, the president said, among other things: "As for the concept of Silesia breaking away from Poland, no one should count on that. Only a war could solve this. So let's not joke about it. There will be no concessions here. However, it is a fact that the new world entails regional solutions. Why regional? Not because someone recommends them, such as the president or the government, but because cooperation and trade are best when partners are nearby (...) We are, therefore, forced to rely on closer regional cooperation, including elimination of borders. However, this should be done not in the sense of conquests or new maps, but in the sense of logical economic cooperation. Such ideas about autonomy are awakened when a region cannot cope with its problems. Then people in this region start thinking: maybe we could get closer to the Germans. Maybe we could be better off with someone else. Therefore, it is our fault that we do not pay enough attention to this region (...) Therefore, all authorities: let us buckle down and get to work because these people cannot cope with their problems alone."

## SLD Submits Draft Consitutional Law To Sejm

*LD0712213192 Warsaw PAP in English 1943 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Lodz, Dec. 7—MP's [members of parliament] of the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) forwarded to the Sejm speaker a draft of a new constitutional law "Social and Economic Charter" meant to supplement the so-called Small Constitution and the "Charter of Rights and Freedoms" recently submitted by President Lech Walesa, Secretary General of the Party Leszek Miller said on Monday [7 December].

"The charter modelled on the European Social Charter and the March Constitution of 1921 is a collection of social and economic rights of the citizen as it defines basic questions connected with life, work, property, economic activity, family, health and environment protection," Miller said.

Asked whether Lech Kaczynski should be dismissed from the post of the president of the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK), Miller said that although he was not Kaczynski's political sympathizer, he assessed positively his work as the head of NIK.

## Labor Solidarity Elects New Leader

*LD0712010492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 6 Dec 92*

[Text] Marek Krankowski has become the new chairman of Labor Solidarity [SP]. Representatives of part of the parliamentary floor group of Labor Solidarity who gathered today in Warsaw decided to continue its activity and call the association's third general assembly for next spring.

Labor Solidarity is, along with the Democratic and Social Movement, part of the Polish Socialist Party and Wieslawa Ziolkowska's Social-Democratic Union of the Wielkopolska region, one of the initiators of the Union of Labor formed on 7 June. A majority of the Labor Solidarity's floor group joined structures of the Union of Labor headed by Ryszard Bugaj.

### Yugoslavia Allows Detained Ship To Procure Food

*AU0712195492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1855 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/12/1992—Starting Friday, December 4, the Yugoslav authorities opened the lock at Iron Gates to Romanian ships. So, there is a two-way traffic, downstream through the Romanian lock, and upstream through the Yugoslav one.

The press office of the Ministry of Transport announced that the Yugoslav authorities allowed the "Dragasani" crew, immobilized in the port of Apatin last week, to procure food.

The Transport Ministry spokesman specified that a Romanian representative attended the Vienna meeting of the group for the expert missions of the CSCE countries neighbouring Yugoslavia. He contacted the U.S. and British representatives, and unofficially informed them about the situation of "Dragasani" crew.

### Prime Minister Interviewed on Government Program

*LD0712140492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1150 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Interview with Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu by special correspondent Levente Sukosd in Bucharest; date not given; Vacaroiu in Romanian fading to Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Sukosd] Mr. Prime Minister, taking into consideration that your government on the whole tries to implement the program of the Democratic National Salvation Front, in your judgement what has been or will be the first concrete step, or measure, which will bear the sign of being different from the former government programs?

[Vacaroiu] Of course, we have already taken several measures. The essence of those is that they guarantee the continuity of the reform, paying much more attention to the links between the various measures than before. So we pay much more attention to the effect the measures have or can have.

We regard the strengthening of the social net as particularly important because the danger exists that living standards may fall drastically and the burdens become unbearable and then the reform process itself would be under threat.

On the other hand, we will also pay attention to the restoration of the state's role, that is, we will put more emphasis on the proprietor quality of the state in various business enterprises, joint ventures, and firms. The final goal is the strengthening of economic enterprises and for that the state can actually deploy any method.

[Sukosd] Will privatization be continued in spite of this?

[Vacaroiu It should be inseparable from the economic processes. [passage omitted]

### Spiroiu Rebuffs Alleged Hungarian Military Threat

*AU0712132092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1154 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/12/1992—"I think there is no danger of a Hungarian military invasion of Romania" told ROMANIA LIBERA [7 December issue] Romanian National Defense Minister [Lieutenant General] Niculae Spiroiu. "This danger is advertised, so to say, out of the wish to gain political and electoral capital," he mentioned. "As we, the military, are not after any political function, we have no interest in maneuvering the Romanian Army for such purposes." Spiroiu said that, as he was told by Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina (State Secretary and Chief of Staff of the Romanian Army, who has recently visited Budapest), "the Hungarian military are very open to the Romanian ones, which proves confidence. And confidence is essential. So, I am saying once more there is no danger."

"I think the relations with the Hungarian Army are of a nature to discourage the political attempts by nationalist circles that are manifest on either side and that, if encouraged also in the military field, could lead to a conflict situation. We have considered that this political situation could be discouraged by a very good relation of confidence between the military. As long as the military, from the minister to the private, know one another, participate in actions together, they come to us for exercises in Transylvania's territory, we go to them, we trust each other... That is why we did not hesitate to sign the Open Skies agreement" (stipulating air inspections over the territories of both countries).

"All this," minister Spiroiu concluded, "are of a nature to deter the extremist tendencies which, unfortunately, we must admit it, have been initiated by the Hungarian diaspora that has tried to project a distorted image of Romania. I would like the political relations to fall in line with the military ones."

## Government Forces Take Sarajevo Suburb

*AU0712161592 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Report by Samra Cengic]

[Excerpt] This is the seventh day that artillery of the Serbian-Montenegrin occupying forces have pounded Sarajevo and surrounding villages. The destruction of civilian and industrial facilities is severe, but it is the civilians who are suffering the most.

As for military operations, [word indistinct] of the defenders. The fierce counterattack that units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army launched two days ago is producing the first significant results. During the night Saturday [5 December] to Sunday, the operation to capture the last chetnik strongholds on Zuc Hill was launched. The defenders have been restricted to the very important position 850, which is kept under constant fire from our forces. The capture of this place would greatly improve the position of our forces in their operations aimed at Vogosca.

The fighters on the Mount Trebevic front have achieved a great success. With their sudden counteroffensive, which started in the very early morning hours, our fighters first eliminated several chetnik strongholds near Colina Kapa, and then they captured (?Visovac), from where the chetniks had been pounding the city for months. In this operation, several more chetniks were liquidated and a considerable amount of weapons and ammunition were seized. Our fighters are prepared to advance further toward Brus. At the moment, the Chetniks are fiercely shelling our positions on Vidikovac and Zuc, and are firing indiscriminately on all parts of the city. [passage omitted]

## Zagreb Radio Reports Battle

*LD0712193192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Excerpt] In the course of fierce battles raging in the Sarajevo theater this morning, the defenders captured the Serbian stronghold of Vidikovac on Mount Trebevic, the Sarajevo Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army reports, and adds that their advance toward Mount Zuc is continuing—that is, toward the Vogosca area. In other words, this morning the defenders launched a counterattack from the direction of Stari Grad via Culina Kapa toward Trebevic. According to the Sarajevo Corps, in these clashes there were fatalities on both sides.

At the same time, Serb artillery is fiercely shelling Sarajevo. The gravest situation is in the Stari Grad municipality. According to a report by the Security Services Center, shrapnel has killed one person in the district of Bistrik in the old town. The inner central area of Sarajevo, particularly the buildings of Marin Dvor, has also come under artillery attack. [passage omitted]

## AFP on Muslim-Croat Offensive

*AU0712200192 Paris AFP in English 1905 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 7 (AFP)—Moslem-Croat forces seized a strategic Serbian position on the southern outskirts of Sarajevo Monday [7 December] as Bosnian defenders stepped up efforts to break the eight-month siege of their capital before winter sets in.

Bosnian army officials said their troops had seized positions on the Serbian stronghold of Mount Trebevic overlooking Sarajevo.

Serbs confirmed the loss of Vidikovac to a squad of 40 Moslem fighters, but said the attackers had been trapped inside the town and would be overcome quickly, the local Serbian news agency SRNA reported.

The Croatian news agency HINA also reported the fall of Vidikovac by Bosnian military officials. "There were many dead on both sides," HINA reported.

HINA also reported a Bosnian drive against Serbian positions near Mount Suz to the north of Sarajevo on the road to the industrial town of Vogosca.

Serbian military sources quoted by the Belgrade-based news agency TANJUG said heavy fighting had also cut the road between Sarajevo and Pale, the headquarters of Serbian forces located east of the Bosnian capital.

There was sporadic but heavy shelling of Sarajevo itself Monday, in part apparently at Serbian retaliation for the Bosnian offensive.

But aid convoys nevertheless resumed to the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital.

Fighting had completely cut access to Sarajevo Sunday. Serbian tanks and guns pounded western suburbs from Tuesday to Sunday in a battle the Serbs won for the suburb of Otes.

A 10-truck U.N. convoy reached Sarajevo Monday, however, as traffic resumed on the one access road to the Bosnian capital. The convoy brought in 118 tons of flour, cheeses and plastic sheeting for windows.

A U.N. worker at the warehouse where the load was deposited said that while Sarajevo needed 145 tons a day of such shipments to provide for its some 300,000 population, the average had fallen to 75 tons a day.

Another U.N. aid convoy that had been blocked from reaching the northern city of Tuzla, finally arrived in the town Monday morning, U.N. officer Major Juan Villalon said here.

**Army Reportedly Seizes Zuc**

*AU0712202592 Paris AFP in English 2019 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Dec 7 (AFP)—Aid convoys resumed into Sarajevo Monday [7 December] amid sporadic but heavy shelling as Muslim-Croat forces seized a strategic Serbian position on the outskirts of the besieged city.

Sarajevo had been cut off by fighting between Serbian troops and the defending government forces.

Crackling machine-gun fire and powerful booms from heavy artillery and mortars punctuated what was otherwise a clear, sunny day.

Casualties continued to be high with hospitals reporting 83 wounded and three dead by late afternoon Monday, many of them soldiers. [passage omitted]

A Dutch-manned relief convoy with a British U.N. escort came under mortar fire as they headed for their base at Busovaca, in central Bosnia, and one of the peacekeepers was slightly injured, a Dutch defence ministry spokesman in The Hague said.

A Dutch corporal was injured by flying glass after the convoy was attacked by five mortar shells near the small town of Kladanj, about 30 kilometres (18 miles) south of Banovici, the spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Bosnian and Serbian army officers met Monday at Sarajevo airport with officials of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

They reached agreements on ceasing combat around the airport and eliminating obstacles to humanitarian convoys. [passage omitted]

They also agreed to allow U.N. vehicles to pass unhindered through checkpoints on the 25 kilometres (15 miles) road between Sarajevo airport and U.N. headquarters in Kiseljak.

The agreements are to come into effect Wednesday morning just after midnight.

The fighting Monday seemed to confirm a new trend in the eight-month siege of Sarajevo as Serbian forces face increased counterattacks from the Bosnian government forces, which are made up mainly of Slav Muslims and Croatians. [passage omitted]

The commander of Sarajevo region, Mustafa Hajrulahovic, known as "the Italian" since he studied at a military academy in Italy, said the Bosnians were mounting an initiative in the Sarajevo sector.

He said Bosnian troops had taken the hill called Zuc, north of Sarajevo.

The reports could not be immediately confirmed.

Meanwhile, radio and television here reported that Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic was in Mostar, 100 kilometres (62 miles) southwest of Sarajevo, meeting with Croatian officials who controls this region bordering Croatia.

**Serbs Say Attack Repelled**

*LD0712195792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbian forces have repelled the attacks launched by Muslim units on their emplacements on Mt. Trebevic, the agency SRNA reports.

The battle on Trebevic began this morning when, according to Serbian military sources, Muslim forces launched an attack on Serbian positions in the Vidikovac area.

Because of the clashes on Mt. Trebevic, there is still no traffic between Pale and New Sarajevo. No report has been released on the number of casualties in today's clashes. [passage omitted]

**Serbs Carrying Out Artillery Attack on Sarajevo**

*LD0812111292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Dec 92*

[Report by correspondent Zeljko Ruzicic from Sarajevo]

[Text] A strong tank and cannon attack by the chetniks on all parts of Sarajevo has been raging since early morning. The most difficult situation is in the Mojmilo area, in Vojnicko Polje, Alipasino Polje, and Dobrinja. Dozens of heavy shells fired from chetnik strongholds in Nedjarici, Lukavica, and Rajlovac have so far fallen on the Olympic village in Mojmilo. The situation is the same in other neighboring districts. We have so far received no information about casualties from this strong attack. People are in shelters they have been using for eight months now.

The defenders of these districts—units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defens Council [HVO] are occasionally returning the attacks which are not followed up by the chetniks attempting an infantry breakthrough into the mentioned districts.

Fighting is also in progress around Sarajevo Airport, and that area is at the moment covered with a thick layer of smoke.

Sarajevo has been without electricity since last night. The chetniks again destroyed part of the only transmission line which supplies Sarajevo with electricity. This caused a cut in the town's water supply, and a breakdown of almost all telephone lines in Sarajevo and its area.

### Sarajevo Serbs Reportedly Wanted for Serb Army

*AU0712162992 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] These days, some of Karadzic's most influential men, such as the war criminal Nikola Koljevic, have been insisting in a very aggressive and perfidious manner that all Serbs should be allowed to leave Sarajevo, a city of hell for Serbs, as he calls it, and to move to territory under their control.

However, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs has very reliable data, received from sources close to the aggressor's command, that this concern for the Sarajevo Serbs results from the fact that the aggressor is extremely short of manpower in the Sarajevo battle zone. Every new arrival is immediately sent to the front line, and even women are no exception as they are employed in medical units.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has information that many enemy soldiers have tried to desert and some have been caught and shot by their superiors, states the Information Service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs.

### Sarajevo Airport Reportedly To Reopen

*LD0812092592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0729 GMT 8 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 8 (TANJUG)—Sarajevo airport will reopen for humanitarian flights on Wednesday [9 December], after being closed for eight days, reports the agency FRANCE PRESSE quoting a spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Command in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Representatives of warring Bosnian Serbs and Moslems met at the airport on Monday and signed a treaty undertaking to silence their artilleries, said the spokesman, British Major Pinder Kohnk [name as received].

Under the treaty, the two sides have undertaken to take all steps to guarantee the safety of UNPROFOR and UNHCR (U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees) officials in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Sarajevo's Butmir airport has been closed to humanitarian flights since last Tuesday, when a U.S. transport plane was hit with small arms fire while landing.

### Serbs Intercept Turkish Weapons

*LD0712140392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1001 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, December 7 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army on Saturday [5 December] night intercepted a pack train of over 100 horses carrying ammunition and weapons for Muslim units in Gorazde, a town in the east of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Belgrade weekly VECERNJE NOVOSTI said on Monday. The pack train was led by about ten Muslim extremists [words indistinct] off from central Bosnia [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina and tried to cross Mt. Jahorina to reach Gorazde, but they were put to rout on the slopes of that mountain located southeast of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, VECERNJE NOVOSTI said. The Bosnian Muslim army have been holding Gorazde for several months.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI said that a two-hour battle took place on the slopes of Mt. Jahorina, in which Bosnian Serb units killed seven Islamic fighters who were leading the pack train, and seized large quantities of weapons and ammunition, most of which came from Turkey. A civil war has been raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina for eight months between local Muslims, Croats and Serbs because of disagreements over the future organization of the republic.

More than 50,000 members of the army of the neighbouring state of Croatia are fighting in the Bosnian war on the side of Bosnian Croats, and several thousand foreign mercenaries, mostly mojahedin from Islamic countries, are engaged on the side of the Bosnian Muslims.

Since the beginning of the Bosnian war, Turkey has been urging the world community to send aid to only one of the warring sides - the Muslims. The Ankara government on Sunday officially proposed to parliament to approve that Turkish troops join the Bosnian Muslims in their war against the orthodox Bosnian serbs.

### Military Confirms Army Commander Arrested

*LD0812104992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] At a news conference in Mostar today, Arif Pasalic, acting commander of the Fourth Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, confirmed that Jovan Divjak, a member of the main headquarters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, has been arrested. Pasalic said that Divjak is now in a kind of isolation while investigation is still under way.

At the news conference, special mention was made of the destructive activity of Zejmir Adelalic, former commander of the strategic group and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army for Konjic, who is on the run. He is charged with criminal acts and particularly with the destruction of the command structure, having a bad attitude toward soldiers, and smuggling weapons. Pasalic particularly expressed his optimism and pleasure at the setting up of joint commands between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Travnik.

### UN Humanitarian Aid Convoy Arrives in Tuzla

*LD0712160692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1109 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—A convoy carrying humanitarian aid sent by the United Nations High

Commesariat [as received] for Refugees (UNHCR), which left Belgrade for Tuzla on Sunday [6 December], arrived in this northeastern Bosnian town on Monday morning, Belgrade UNHCR office spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs said on Monday.

Since the start of the war in Bosnia, this is first convoy sent from Belgrade to Muslim-controlled Tuzla.

According to Sachs, the 12-truck convoy encountered no problems on the way. The only longer stop took place at a control point of the Army of the Serb Republic which said it had received no information on the arrival of the convoy.

The convoy will remain in Tuzla three hours to distribute the relief aid, after which it returns to Belgrade.

### Council Against Formation of Army Command

*LD0712213292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—In a statement today, Vinko Stupar, president of the Serb National Council of Bosnian Krajina, disagreed with the decision yesterday of the Presidency of the Serb Republic to form the Supreme Command of the Serb Republic Army.

In Stupar's opinion, this decision does not serve the interests of the Serb nation's just struggle, but the exclusively personal interests of Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic, and a group of civilians gathered around him.

"An ordinary Serb does not understand how a supreme command can be formed at the end of the war, and how it is possible that it does not include officers who led the Serb Army and the Serb nation through the war," the statement says. "The fact that General Ratko Mladic [commander of the Serb Republic Army] is not included in the Supreme Command at the moment, when there is not even a hint of peace, brings into question all the successes in the war to date, and seriously weakens the military and defensivee positions of the Serb nation in the Serb Republic," Stupar stressed.

### British Consider Sending More Firepower

*LD0712214192 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 2056 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[By Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent in Split]

[Text] Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind touched down tonight in war-ravaged former Yugoslavia with a firm pledge to consider a stronger military line if requested by British troops. Whitehall is ready to send more firepower to the region if the UK force believes it is required for self-defence.

Mr. Rifkind said one of his primary aims was to find out the problems facing British troops as they strive to get humanitarian aid through to beleaguered towns and villages in Bosnia. Although he has ruled out the use of British ground troops to impose a peace in the area, he said he was prepared to consider strengthening the United Nations mandate. "My main interest is finding out from the men on the ground if they have any interest in additional powers to do the job we have given them," he said after arriving in the Croatian port of Split. "If the answer is yes, then we will want to know what they are and give serious consideration to them."

There are fears that Bosnian and Serb Armies are becoming increasingly contemptuous of British and other UN forces because of their unwillingness to use their weapons. However, some of the attacks on British convoys have been by Serb artillery out of range of UK weapons. It is clear that if British commanders ask for more firepower, such as artillery or air strikes, it will be given serious consideration. "If they can give a convincing reason for legitimate self-defence, we will respond pretty thoroughly and effectively," said a Whitehall source.

Calls have been growing for the UN mandate to be strengthened to allow force to be used to guarantee the safe passage of aid. UN forces are under strict orders not to use force and Mr. Rifkind stressed British troops had pushed through 3,500 tons of aid to needy areas in the past three weeks. He said it was very encouraging, but there was feeling about how long that will that last? [sentence as received]

He disclosed that a Belgian convoy supported by British troops from the 9/12 Royal Lancers had successfully crossed the frontline from Serbia into Bosnia after a 12-hour delay at the border. Mr. Rifkind said it was crucial for him to reach a judgment on how far to put his men's lives at risk.

"You do not sacrifice large numbers of your own peoples' lives to save others. It becomes an impossible ethical question to which there is no answer," he said.

During his three-day visit, Mr. Rifkind, accompanied by Foreign Office Minister Alastair Goodlad, will visit British troops across the region. They will be given intelligence briefings about the state of the Serb forces and their aims.

NATO officials are currently considering new ways of stopping the conflict spilling over from Bosnia into the province of Kosovo, which is 90 percent ethnic Albanian ruled by Serb officials. Peace envoy Lord Owen warned NATO last Friday that the conflict could quickly spread through the Balkans with Kosovo and then Macedonia the next to suffer.

Mr. Goodlad acknowledged the dangers now facing the region. "Everybody is very conscious of the dangers that it might spread. We are watching it very closely," he said.

### Croat Group Ambushes Krajina Policemen

*LD0712175392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Knin, 7 December (TANJUG)—One Krajina policeman was killed and three were wounded as a result of an attack yesterday by an infiltrated sabotage and terrorist group in the zone under UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] responsibility in the Zadar hinterland.

According to a statement of the Knin Secretariat of Internal Affairs, Luka Ardalic (42) was killed, while Dragoslav Paravinja (26), Momir Tintor (24) and Ognjen Prostran (28) were wounded. All the wounded policemen are from the village of Smokovic. They were detained for treatment in Knin's Sveti Sava Hospital.

The infiltrated terrorist group of the Croatian armed forces, as a statement says, laid an ambush for the Krajina policemen on the road between Zemunik airport and the village of Murvice.

Police bodies of the UNPROFOR and the Benkovac public security station jointly carried out an investigation.

According to the same source, on the previous evening, the sabotage and terrorist group of the Croatian army killed Dusan Kovacevic in his house in Zemunik Gornji.

### Peasant Party Decision Threatens Opposition Pact

*AU0712192392 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 92 p 11*

[Report by Sanja Modric: "Will There Be an Opposition Pact?"]

[Text] Zagreb—The seeming idyll of the opposition consensus regarding joint participation in the forthcoming local and district [zupanija] elections burst like a bubble on Saturday [28 November]. Last Wednesday, after the Croatian Peasant Party [HSS] "sabotaged" the already announced signing of the agreement concerning an electoral pact consisting of nine opposition parties, justifying its move with the fact that Drago Stipac, leader of the HSS, did not have the necessary instructions from the Party Presidency, the other eight potential opposition participants accepted Stipac's "time-out" on Saturday. For this day, HSS had scheduled a meeting of its leadership, which would authorize Stipac's final statement.

The leaders of the other opposition parties were not, at least according to official media reports, in the least put out by this. They pointed out how HSS must indeed await the word of its leading party body, so no one publicly questioned the fate of the agreement which was supposed to be a "fait accompli," although no one had, up to that moment, given any other guarantees for it except—the word of a gentleman. Those politicians, who might have dared to express doubts about the HSS's last minute "dithering," were bravely silenced by Silvije Degen, leader of the Socialists, when he announced to "SLOBODNA DALMACIJA" how the conduct of the HSS "must in no way give rise to political calculations and speculations of any kind." He was joined by Zorislav Lukic from the Croatian Social Liberal Party, which had patented the idea of a an electoral opposition union, who said that this was a "postponement," after which the agreement would definitely be verified. Cautious Drago Stipac said, however, that the HSS was for "flexibility and agreement in negotiations, especially in these grave circumstances," which opposition circles took, for the most part, whichever way suited them best. Namely, there were few of those who expected the HSS to "slip out" from under the joint opposition umbrella. However, that is exactly what happened.

At Saturday's meeting of the HSS Presidency, which was attended by neither Drago Stipac nor party vice president Mirko Madjor, it was concluded, according to the press release, that in the coming elections, the "party must establish itself as an independent political entity. Therefore, the HSS cannot accept the electoral agreement proposed by the other opposition parties."

After such a "verdict" by the HSS Presidency, the opposition was in a state of shock. Such a reaction is indicative of the political sophistication of the opposition leaders, who have shown on numerous occasions, as has already been said, more naivete than should be tolerated in state-political games. Namely, relying on the knowledge of the HSS's style, and some statements from the top leadership of the party (a boycott of the elections is out of the question, even if the whole opposition decides not to run....), it could have been expected that the HSS's "postponement" actually meant—retreat. For the sake of digression, precisely such forecasts were the subject of a wager among reporters, in which those who expected the HSS to give a final "yes" to the electoral pact were infinitely fewer than those who predicted what actually transpired.

Now that its opposition colleagues have received the HSS's definite "no" to the electoral union, the question that logically comes up is whether the agreement will be signed at all. Namely, no matter how many times it is now said that no one can challenge the HSS's decision, it still remains that such an outcome is clearly a hindrance to the other opposition parties, in whose ranks there are also various currents and factions, who are for various reasons reluctant to go to the polls as a team. For them, the solution of the peasant party is surely a good signal, daring them to apply stronger pressure within their own parties, and to convince the others that it is not profitable to enter into any kind of union whatsoever. As things stand now, opposition leaders are only sporadically ready to admit publicly that such a danger exists, so the majority of them believe that the HSS's decision will not influence the others. The coming days will show just how founded in reality these predictions actually are.

However, very few and, one could say, highly optimistic political observers can be profoundly certain that what remains of the electoral nonet, is a solid—octet. Therefore, it is very likely that the "bubble" will definitely burst, and that what remains of the "pact" will be a "f.a.," as in "failed attempt."

### President Tudjman Comments on UN Forces

*AU0712184392 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 92 p 3*

[Report by B. Tudjen and M. Piskor on regular monthly press conference of the President of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, held in Zagreb's Presidential Palace on 1 Dec 92: "Croatia's Reputation Is Soaring"]

[Text] At President Tudjman's regular monthly press conference, the main topics discussed were as follows: 1. The extension of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] mandate; 2. The talks between Bobetko and Morillon held in Sarajevo; 3. Last Saturday's [28 November] meeting with Vance and Lord Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia]; 4. The resurgence of war in Croatia; 5. Events in Belgrade; 6. The pact between Tirana, Ankara, and Sophia; 7. The spreading of conflicts to Kosovo, Sandjak, and Macedonia; 8. Croatia's international reputation; 9. The division into districts [zupanija]; 10. The outcome of the political crisis in Croatia;

Talking about the possibility that Croatia will not grant permission for the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate, President Tudjman stressed that Croatia had explicitly asked UNPROFOR to implement the Vance plan. Therefore, it is still too early to discuss whether Croatia will or will not extend the mandate of UNPROFOR, although it must be stressed that Croatia will no longer be willing to extend its hospitality to the UN Peace Corps, if they do not implement the plan.

Commenting the meeting between Army General [general zbora] Janko Bobetko and General Morillon, the commander of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, President Tudjman said that General Bobetko had gone to Sarajevo to negotiate with General Morillon, the commander of the peace-keeping corps in Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the cessation of attacks on Croatia from Bosnia-Hercegovinan territory. The other reason was to deny allegations that Croatia had somewhere between 16 and 19 brigades in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is to say, more than 100,000 soldiers, according to official Belgrade sources. These were the main reasons for General Bobetko's participation in the talks. He himself announced on Croatian Television that he had asked for representatives of the Croatian Defense Council and Bosnia-Hercegonina's armed forces to take part in the talks. That this was not so, was an oversight on the part of General Morillon, the organizer of the meeting.

In answer to a question put to him by a reporter from "NOVI VJESNIK," as to whether it was true that he had met with the joint chairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia last Saturday, President Tudjman said that it was true that he had had a meeting behind closed doors with Messrs. Vance and Owen towards the end of last week. "We discussed some of the key issues concerning UNPROFOR and the solving of the crises on the territory of the former Yugoslavia," said President Tudjman.

The next question concerned the possibility of a resurgence of war in Croatia, since some companies in Zagreb had stepped up their state of alert.

"Such a possibility does not exist," stated President Tudjman firmly. "The fact that some companies have stepped up their state of alert is due to the over zealousness of some people who had heard rumors that Serbian forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina were deploying missiles with which Croatian cities could be attacked. However, that speaks for the alertness of the Croatian people. In present circumstances, there is no chance of a wider attack on Croatia, and the incidents occurring at present will go on for as long as the UN Peace Corps does not implement the Vance plan."

In answer to a request for a comment on the resignations in Panic's government, President Tudjman said: "The crises in the Belgrade government indicate the growing difficulties of Belgrade and Serbia and their increasing isolation. This turmoil is connected with their election campaign, and it concerns Serbia. I an convinced that Serbia will finally have to accept the fact that it cannot create a 'Greater Serbia' from parts of Croatia, and that it will not be able to annex Bosnia-Hercegovina to its third Yugoslavia. Moreover, it will have to comply politically with the wishes of the international community."

As regards the possibility of the conflict spreading to Kosovo, President Tudjman said that it was true that such a danger exists. Taking into consideration the experience that Serbia had gained in Croatia, where its attempts failed, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina where it will not achieve the results it expected, and taking into consideration how long it has taken the world to react, the aggressor may be encouraged to try to attack some other territories.

"Unfortunately," said President Tudjman, "any engagement of larger land forces of the international community is out of the question. The number discussed is about 100,000 American soldiers. The most we can expect is for the UN to deploy a larger number of peace corps, and to grant permission for the use of air strikes. I personally concur with the opinion that this would be enough to put an end to Serbia's aggression."

Talking about the possibility that the Kosovo issue is actually a ploy devised to turn attention away from Bosnia-Hercegovina, thus giving Serbia time to finish the job, President Tudjman agreed that the whole affair could be viewed in that light as well. However, he stressed that the problem of Kosovo does exist.

The press wanted to know whether the question of Knin had come up at Saturday's meeting with Vance and Owen. President Tudjman said that indeed it had come up, but that the Messrs. Vance and Owen had, during an earlier visit to Knin and Baranja, clearly stated that they were in Croatia and that the Serbs in Croatia should look for a solution to their problems within the framework of the Republic of Croatia.

The latest incidents, including their escalation, clearly indicate that the moves are still being made in Belgrade, and that the desired effect is the stepping-up of tension in Croatia, which is closely connected with the electoral turmoil in Serbia. President Tudjman stressed that what was positive about this whole thing was the fact that UNPROFOR had come to the conclusion that the implementation of the Vance plan was being threatened, and that other measures should be resorted to. Today, Croatia is in a significantly different and better position than before, and these are the last political throes of the pan-Serbian policy. Today, their chances for any kind of political success are smaller than ever, because Serbian aggression has recently been condemned in Geneva, in Istanbul, in Jeddah, and in the report of the UN Secretary General.

In answer to the question of a reporter from "SLOBODNA DALMACIJA," President Tudjman commented on the proposals concerning the new management and self-management organization of the state and the territorial division into 20 districts [zupanija] and 383 municipalities, and stressed that he personally was of the opinion that the division into districts has been successful, that all requests from the field had been taken into consideration, as well as the economic, transportation and cultural peculiarities of a region. As for the municipalities, the wishes of citizens from the areas will be maximally respected, and those who say that the number of municipalities planned is too large are wrong, because there will be fewer of them than at the time of the Bannat of Croatia [reference to the medieval Croatian state, the "Banovina Hrvatska"]. As far as the counties of Knin and Glina are concerned, the best solution has been proposed, and I have listened with great pleasure to those deputies who pointed out that Knin and Glina are in Croatia, they always have been, and will always remain Croatian municipalities and counties.

**[Box, p 3]**

**Military Alliances**

In connection with the announcing of a military alliance between Ankara and Tirana, and Ankara and Sophia, President Tudjman stressed how these alliances testify in the first place to the fact that Serbia is encountering unanimous condemnation from her neighboring countries. "This can also be one of the factors which will influence the outcome of the crises in the former Yugoslavia. If we add to this the conclusions reached at the Conference of Balkan Countries in Istanbul, and the conclusions of the Conference of Islamic Countries in Jeddah, it is clear that circumstances are being created which will have an influence on finally bringing this criminal war to an end."

**On the Highest Level**

How do you explain the decline of Croatia's reputation in the world and the recurring newspaper articles which write unfavorably about Croatia and yourself, was one of the questions put to the president of Croatia.

"First of all, I do not think that this assessment is correct. Croatia's reputation in the world is soaring, and is at the highest possible level. We not only have diplomatic relations, but contacts and statements of cooperation with the leading world powers. If a minor article appears in some, albeit prestigious, newspaper, it does not mean that Croatia's reputation is declining. It is increasing, and this will soon be confirmed by Croatia's acceptance into the international financial organizations," said President Tudjman.

**The Bridge at Maslenica—Very Soon**

We are going to build the bridge at Maslenica very soon. A pontoon crossing will be set up, and we will at once begin with the construction of a bridge that will be a permanent solution for the Adriatic highway. On the issue of the Maslenica bridge, Croatia will prove that it has sovereignty over that area, and that it will exercise sovereignty over all her other temporarily occupied regions. We have the necessary consent, and we are negotiating on this problem with international forces, because we cannot wait and leave everything to the will of UNPROFOR and the resistance of the rebels.

## Political Changes, New Rightist Party

*93BA0279C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 82 p 18*

[Article by R. Arsenic]

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Nov—The time between the multiparty elections in Croatia, the second such elections that have been held, and the upcoming elections for the Chamber of Parishes of the Assembly and local assemblies has been filled with considerable upheavals and changes on the political map. Many well-known names in political life here have been changing flags these days, i.e., leaving the parties in which they have been up to now and moving to others. The Croatian People's Party [HNS], whose president is Savka Dabcevic Kucar, has experienced particular attrition. For example, its prestigious official Mate Mestrovic has moved to Drazen Budisa's Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS], and the lawyer Bosiljko Mesetic, representative of the HNS in the "wartime government," has also left the party, and with a few like-minded individuals who have left other parties he is right now involved in establishing a new

Croatian party of right-wing orientation which has been given the working name of National Democratic League [NDL].

Ivan Bekic, a lawyer who has left the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] (he was minister of internal affairs for a time), Assembly deputy Ante Prkacin (who was suspended from Paraga's HSP [Croatian Rights Party]), and the lawyer Ivan Gabelica (who left Veselica's HDS [Christian Democratic Party] when it joined Cesar's Democratic Christians to establish the Croatian Democratic Union [HDU]) are others.

In a lengthy interview published today in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, Bosiljko Mesetic explains his political views, which are no particular surprise for those who are familiar with the political situation here and those who take part in it.

Mesetic made the decision to establish the new party, he explains, this summer, when in his native region in Hercegovina he attended the funeral of 10 members of the HOS [Croatian Defense Forces] headed by Blaze Kraljevic, who were killed by a special unit of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] "by mistake."

He interprets the rightist orientation of the new party this way in part: "I personally believe that a Croatian man, who has that Catholic or Christian cause in his genes, cannot be a Liberal."

A considerable portion of the interview is devoted to the Serbs and sufficiently indicates what they can expect from this new party. Remarking that because of everything that has happened he "defines a crime against the Croats as a crime of the Serbs against the Croats" and that "now I really hate the Serbs," he says:

"When I say 'Serb,' I am referring to the personification of evil committed against my people. I do not speak a metalanguage, and so I will not say 'some of the Serbs,' or the 'Serbocommunists,' the 'chetniks,' the 'terrorists,' or who knows what."

He also went on to say this: "Tell me, please, have you ever heard who really attacked Pearl Harbor? The Japanese attacked it. Who occupied Paris and France? The Germans. Did the French ever say that they had been occupied by 'disloyal Germans'? Never. Accordingly, coexistence as a substitute for the phrase of brotherhood and unity does not come into consideration. The Serbs, even those among them who have not bloodied their hands, will have to bear the exceedingly heavy burden of the sins of their fellow countrymen and the crimes they have committed against the Croatian people. The Serbs from Croatia above all."

And in answer to the question "What will happen to the Croatian Serbs in the near future?" Mesetic responded: "Nothing. They will live as they have up to now. But I would not like to be a Serb in Croatia, at least not over the next 50 years. If those people belong to a collectivity, they must realize that collectivity means above all that it will go hard on the individual. The crime against the Croats and the Croatian people has already been done, so that there is no state—law-governed, be it as Croatian as it may be—which could again impose on the Croatian man any concept of coexistence, that is, brotherhood and unity."

And that is accompanied by the following: "From birth, that is, before he learns to read and write, a child should learn who is his enemy. And in this region of ours the enemy is the Serb. This does not mean that we should develop hatred in him or that we should develop in him resistance to the point of his later committing murder, but from the very outset, just as he learns to read, to talk, and to behave well, he should also be taught that all the evil committed against the Croatian man and the Croatian people in these parts was committed by the Serbs."

And here is how Mesetic, who for a time was minister of justice in the Greguric government, defines the term "Ustasha."

"Today, everyone calls himself a Ustasha, but it is Croatia's misfortune that there are few true Ustashi. If there were more Ustashism in Croatia, this war would have been ended long ago, ended victoriously for Croatia...."

## War Said To Be Nearing Belgrade

*93BA0247B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 92 p 7*

[Interview with Ivan Milas, chairman of the State Commission for the UN Protective Force, by Dunja Ujevic; place and date not given]

[Text] The talk is becoming louder and louder in the Croatian public about how it is futile to expect that the occupied areas will be reintegrated with the help of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and that Croatia has the strength to "take back its territory by other methods" when the peacekeeping forces are unable to do so. In his last letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia, said: "Croatia cannot consent indefinitely to having its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and democratic achievement in jeopardy and the safety of its citizens threatened." The last meeting of the four-member commission of the UNPROFOR, the EC observer mission, the Government of the Republic of Croatia, and the representative of the local authorities of "Krajina" was cut short, and C. Thornberry issued a statement about the "lack of progress and absence of a minimum of political will on both sides."

By and large, one gets the impression that when the mandate of the UN peacekeeping forces expires "in 12 months, unless the Security Council decides otherwise," the climate is being created in Croatia that it is futile to extend their authority. We talked about the (non)performance of the jobs the UNPROFOR was ordered to do

and about whether Croatia could have any influence on the length of its mandate with Ivan Milas, chairman of the State Commission of the Republic of Croatia for the UNPROFOR.

**I Have No Illusions About Liberators**

[Ujevic] Mr. Milas, the resolution on peacekeeping forces dated 24 February 1992 says that the troops are to be established for a period of one year, provided the UN Security Council does not determine differently at a later date. Can anyone in Croatia, then, say that the UNPROFOR's mandate will be rejected in the spring?

[Milas] I do not want to speak prematurely about what the solution might be. It is a fact that we wanted to internationalize the issue of the former Yugoslavia and thereby the Croatian question as well. The arrival of the UNPROFOR in Croatia is a consequence of that internationalization. Anyone who thinks that that was a wrong move had better remember the way things were then. We were counting the dead in Osijek, Zadar, in the vicinity of Sibenik, Sinj, in Banija, in Karlovac, in Sisak and Lika. Dubrovnik and Vinkovci were about to fall. Vukovar did fall. Streams of refugees had already flooded Croatia. Our army did not even have the most basic equipment for foot soldiers, it was poorly trained, and it had no arms to speak of. Western Slavonia was the only region where we were a little better off. But even there we had one and a half combat allowances, which means that we could hold out for one day and a half.

I personally never had illusions that anyone would liberate Croatia unless we did. I do not think any serious person did, not even the person who was making decisions about Croatia. But that respite allowed us to reorganize the military forces, and he gave the international community an opportunity to see that extension of the war has adverse consequences for them as well.

[Ujevic] But that respite also seems to have given Serbia an opportunity.

[Milas] No, Serbia has not become stronger. It has lost territory, because Yugoslavia was the largest Serbia. Was it not Pribicevic who told the Serbs when they were demanding creation of an expanded Serbia in the first Yugoslavia that even the largest Serbia was less than what they had?

However much it might seem to be a success of theirs, the war in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] is also a failure for Serbia, because they had absolute power there. To be sure, their recent military successes are encouraging them to continue the war, but the news coming from Kosovo and Sandzak indicates that war is coming closer and closer to where they live. And the logic is that the worse it is for the enemy, the better the chances of liberation.

**Unification Without Backing**

[Ujevic] Which means that we should not be afraid of the decision to merge the two "krajinas"—the one in Croatia and the other in B-H—to form "western Serbia"?

[Milas] That has absolutely no importance at all. Croatia will never consent to a splitting of its integrity as a state, and aside from that the international community has recognized us in the borders of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, to which we are the legal heirs. The argument of Serbian expansionism about the right of the Serbs to self-determination is nonsense, because they are an ethnic minority in Croatia. And ethnic minorities do not have that right anywhere in the world.

For that matter, if the logic of Serbian expansionism were followed, at least 10 states would be created on the territory of Serbia. It is certainly clear that they will not accept arguments unless they are compelled to. But the real situation will make even the most ambitious among them realistic. So, that "merger of the krajinas" cannot have any consequences at all.

[Ujevic] Even if that creation were recognized by the "FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]," which at some point might be recognized?

[Milas] If they resort to weapons, that would be the limit of our tolerance.

[Ujevic] If they resorted to weapons for what purpose? To recognize them?

[Milas] No, to annex them.

[Ujevic] Let us go back to the UNPROFOR. When Croatia consented to their coming, it was assumed that they would stand between the belligerents, they would make it possible for the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] to depart, the refugees to return, and reestablishment of parity police in the occupied zones.

[Milas] No, they did not come to stand between the belligerents, but to set themselves up like "ink blots." This is the first time that the UN troops have not stood between the opposed sides, and if that had been the case, it would have been bad for us, because at that time we were not recognized, and Yugoslavia was a member of the United Nations. According to the agreement under which the UNPROFOR came, the troops of the JNA had to withdraw, and formally they have in fact done so. But the territorial defense forces, which have changed clothes, have remained on the territory of Croatia and exist in the form of various paramilitary forces. And then they came into the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] zones to set up a police with an ethnic composition according to the 1981 population census, to bring back the refugees, and to prepare everything for introduction of the legal system of the Republic of Croatia into those areas. What we are demanding is that the UNPROFOR perform the task it was set, that is, disarm the paramilitary formations and make it possible for the refugees to return.

**The "Krajinas" on the Budget of the "FRY"**

[Ujevic] That is well-known, but was not their very arrival contradictory from the standpoint of carrying out such orders? That is, they did not come with weapons, nor do they have authority to wage war if either side stands in the way of performance of their mandate.

[Milas] It was believed that Serbia would cooperate in this, because their cooperation is indispensable if those orders are to be carried out. The reason is that the authorities in Knin did not spring up of themselves, but are the fruit of a seed sown in Serbia and Montenegro.

[Ujevic] In the Croatian-Yugoslav negotiations, Croatia won points in getting Belgrade to declare that the question of the "Krajina" is to be resolved in their negotiations with Zagreb. But does not the objective situation nullify that diplomatic success?

[Milas] However much Serbia might publicly deny its participation in the events in Croatia, all the costs of maintaining troops and authorities in the "krajinas" are in the most recent rebalanced version of the budget of the "FRY." It is a prerequisite, then, for a real normalization of relations that Yugoslavia recognize Croatia in its borders and stop encouraging and withdraw those whom it is supporting and directing.

[Ujevic] In his last letter to UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali, President Tudjman says that Croatia cannot wait forever for the UNPROFOR to carry out its mandate. Is there a more specific message behind the president's words?

[Milas] There is nothing to add to that. I was present when the president spoke to the ambassadors stationed in Croatia. It is all clear to them and it is superfluous to repeat our arguments to them. We simply have the backing to demand that the UNPROFOR carry out its mandate.

**There Is No Freedom Overnight**

[Ujevic] Why are the negotiations with the UNPROFOR concerning certain areas conducted so unfavorably for Croatia? Specifically: In the Western Slavonian offensive in the triangle Novska-Pakrac-Okucani, our army conquered at great sacrifice the villages from which the Serbian aggression originated. Under the Vance Plan, we were to withdraw from those villages, and the Serbs from Jasenovac and surrounding places which they occupied. We withdrew, they did not, and the areas we left have become "pink zones." Is not that the paradigm of our negotiations concerning the UNPA zones?

[Milas] I have not participated in those negotiations, but I know that the zones were drawn regardless of who captured them. The areas of which you speak have become "pink zones," they have to be abandoned, and they will be outside the control of the UNPROFOR. But you have to look upon the liberation of Croatia as a dynamic process. Just look back a little, and recall the exultation when the JNA departed, when Medjimurje, Varazdin, and Koprivnica were liberated, when they left Zagreb, Istria, Rijeka, Vis, and Lastovo. They did nevertheless depart, and Croatia has always been broadening its authorities. For that matter, no people has ever realized its historical interests in the passing of a moment.

[Ujevic] Nevertheless, let us take the Kupa Valley. The Croats are on the left bank of the Kupa and the Serbs on the right. When we asked the civilian sector of UNPROFOR what about the return of the Croats on the right bank of the Kupa, they said "the Serbs are there," and that was the end of it. It follows that the UNPROFOR is defining that area as a Serbian zone and the Kupa as the boundary, that is, that the status quo is being preserved in practice.

[Milas] That is not so. Those forces of the UNPROFOR, those are soldiers who are not settling any political issue. Many of them are not even informed about political problems. They stand where they are put. The decisions are made at the world level, and the balance of power in the former Yugoslavia decides.

[Ujevic] And successes in the war?

[Milas] Well, I said that the balance of power decides. The UNPROFOR has been here since April, and we have had an army only for a year. Wars of liberation are waged for years, for decades. It is indispensable that Croatia is getting stronger, and that Serbia, regardless of the reorganization of the Army, is in a worse position. However difficult our situation is, theirs is still more difficult, although not a single shell has fallen on their terrain. Our greatest burden are the refugees from B-H, so great that we are not even aware of it. Our calculations in this regard are superficial and careless. Just look how the advanced countries, who never stop talking about humanity at other people's expense, are taking barely even 100 people!

[Ujevic] By the way, have you heard the joke about who won in B-H: Serbia got Bosnia and Croatia got the Bosnians?

[Milas] That joke seems to be valid at the moment. But actually everyone is losing in Bosnia. The war there will last a long time. When Serbia has thrown up all its war propaganda messages, it is evident that even they no longer have people out there where the war is being waged. Bosnia is a place of death, hunger, and misery, and that also applies to the UNPA zones in Croatia.

**The UNPROFOR Has No Idea!**

[Ujevic] Are you aware that at many checkpoints the UNPROFOR is performing humiliatingly thorough inspection of Croatian police? That goes beyond a police matter, that is a matter of state, is it not?

[Milas] I am not aware of that, and no one has so far complained to me about it.

[Ujevic] And are you aware that the civilian sector of the UNPROFOR is openly demanding that Croatian local authorities receive the Serbs who are now coming back? In practice, is this not a demand that they be granted amnesty on the spot?

[Milas] I would not say that that is the case. They, those Blues, do not know anything, and what they cherish most is for nothing to happen. The problem, that is, is that the war option is winning out in Serbia. The results of the election are awaited, and that is why it is difficult to negotiate now.

[Ujevic] You believe, then, that the UNPROFOR is making certain moves on a case-to-case basis, and that there is no directive behind that to verify the Serbian conquest?

[Milas] I am 100-percent convinced that there are no such directives. For that matter, both Vance and Owen have explicitly said that there is no Serbian state in Croatia whatsoever, that the paramilitary formations must be disarmed, and all reports are to the effect that this is being done and that there is no merger of any alleged states.

[Ujevic] The last meeting of the four-member mission consisting of representatives of the UNPROFOR, the European observers, the Croatian Government, and the local authorities in the occupied areas fell through, but Mr. Thornberry declared that "none of this makes any sense any longer." Do you believe that it nevertheless does make sense?

[Milas] Mr. Thornberry is not making decisions about Croatia's political destiny, he is only carrying out the Vance Plan. And the fact that they have not disarmed the Serbs means that they have not carried it out. For that matter, why does that gentleman go to Knin for every little thing? He should not do that, because that means bypassing the local authority and giving authority to Knin. What does Knin have to do, for example, with anything that happens in Okucani?

**Who Is Deciding Everything**

[Ujevic] Are we not back at the beginning: How is the UNPROFOR disarming Serbian formations when it does not have power to wage war? Can they do that without their mandate being broadened?

[Milas] There are ways of disarming them, and they know how that should be done. It is not indispensable that this involve shooting.

[Ujevic] By all appearances, then, no one can say categorically that the "Blue Helmets" will leave Croatia in the spring?

[Milas] I would not put it that way. What I have said is that the balance of power and the political decision are decisive. And the objective is to get what we want with the fewest sacrifices.

[Ujevic] But if the balance of power were turned around, the final decision would be up to the Security Council, would it not?

[Milas] We are signatories of the agreement to send in the UN peacekeeping forces, and the Security Council must respect the decision of that side whose territory the troops are entering.

[Ujevic] The agreement does not state that they are entering the territory of Yugoslavia?

[Milas] Yes, because Croatia still had not been recognized at that time, but that wording no longer stands following the recognition. The decision of the UN to recognize Croatia cancels that wording.

[Ujevic] Even though there has been no formal rewording of it subsequently?

[Milas] Regardless. The essential thing is that circumstances have changed.

[Ujevic] Mr. Milas, can we have something cheerful at the end: Certain forecasts indicate that there soon might be a conflict among the Serbs. Do you think that this could really occur, and at what point might it occur—in Sandzak, Kosovo?

[Milas] Regardless of the forecasts, it will inevitably occur. Sandzak and Kosovo are their objective difficulties, and they will compel Serbia to be realistic. And when that facing of reality occurs, we will be able to breathe a sigh of relief.

### Unofficial Final Results of Elections Reported

*LD0812113192 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1100 GMT 8 Dec 92*

[Text] We have unofficially received the final election results for the State Assembly of Slovenia's parliament. Seven parties have secured seats in this chamber in the following order: the Liberal Democratic Party—23.32 percent; the Christian Democrats—14.53 percent; the United List—13.46 percent; the Slovene National Party—9.88 percent; the Slovene People's Party—8.77 percent; the Democratic Party—5.04 percent; and Slovenia's Greens—3.7 percent of the votes.

### Foreign Observers Satisfied With Elections

*AU0712162292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] As is known, representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe were among the foreign observers at the Slovene elections. They presented their impressions of yesterday's elections at a news conference organized for Slovene and foreign reporters in Cankar Hall. Here is a brief report by Edo Zitnik:

[Begin recording] A general assessment of the first presidential and parliamentary elections in Slovenia since independence is certainly positive. According to the head of the delegation (?Sir) Dudley Smith from Britain, the elections passed in a calm and politically mature atmosphere. Voters had been acquainted with the electoral procedure and mostly satisfied with the electoral campaign. Members of the delegation had some well-meaning remarks regarding the organization at polling stations themselves, which by no means changes the initial positive assessments. There were no party observers at polling stations, and at some places there were no screens. Ballot boxes were not always visible.

National ethnic groups, particularly Italian and Hungarian, had exemplary conditions for elections. There had been sufficient information in their languages, their flags were put up, and polling stations were well organized.

Party leaders that the group has met had no essential remarks about the elections. The only problem lay in the fact that there had been no law on elections that would envisage the rules in detail. Compared with the other Eastern European countries, the turnout was very good.

Let us present the assessment by the Council of Europe in one sentence: In comparison with all Eastern European countries, including those on the territory of former Yugoslavia, elections in Slovenia were the best. Therefore, Slovenia is today one step nearer to a full fledged membership in the Council of Europe. [end recording]

### Two Leading Parties Holding Talks

*LD0712223392 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Excerpts] According to unofficial results so far, the parties which will be represented in the State Assembly are the Liberal Democratic Party, the Slovene Christian Democrats, the Alliance Ticket, the Slovene National Party, the Slovene People's Party, and the Democratic Party. There has been a news conference in Ljubljana at which representatives of these parties, with the exception of the Slovene National Party and the Greens, voiced their impressions following the elections and the election results. [passage omitted]

According to the ballots processed so far, Milan Kucan has taken a commanding lead among the presidential candidates, as he has won nearly 64 percent of the vote. The president is therefore known. We can almost certainly claim that the parties in parliament are also known. Hence, we are now primarily interested in the shape of potential party coalitions. A great deal of speculation is focused on the potential relationship between the Liberal Democratic Party and the Slovene Christian Democrats. The presidents of both parties have already had talks. What they discussed, we do not know. [passage omitted]

### Politician Warns of Revival of Communism, Fascism

*AU0312084692 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Dec 92*

[Vesna Burnik report from the news conference by Slovene Assembly Chairman Dr. France Bucar, in Ljubljana on 2 December—recorded]

[Excerpt] Dr. France Bucar was of the opinion that the parliament had accomplished an enormous task but that a break with the old system had not taken place. There are several reasons for it:

A consensus on current affairs could not be reached as Slovenia had entered the new era spiritually disintegrated, with great expectations, and a poor grasp of reality. The parties also do not reflect the structure of society, which is generally poorly developed due to the political regime of the previous 45 years. The reasons can also be sought in the work of the parliament, as the parties could not find a common language within working commissions but rather transferred all matters to the assembly chambers. Although Dr. France Bucar actually limited himself mostly to assessing the parliament's work, he also commented on some parties:

[Begin recording] We adopted our Constitution with enormous efforts, compromises, and suchlike. This Constitution was finally adopted as a reflection of a general consensus. Nowadays one can read, and I have heard this on several occasions, that, for example, the Reformists [Social Democratic Reform party] in Slovenia are already raising their voice and saying that they will

embark upon changing the Constitution. If one makes a decision on something, this cannot be a decision made with one's fingers crossed behind one's back. And if they now demand changes of the Constitution when they said that a full consensus was reached, then according to the same logic I can speculate that tomorrow the question might also arise of whether or not to return to Yugoslavia. These accusations might be very serious, but these are also the facts. It will not be merely a matter of slight changes of the parliament's structure tomorrow, it will also be a matter of the powers and the function of the president of the state and we will return to the presidential system. A new counterrevolution could quietly take place in this way. These are serious words and I am fully aware of their meaning but I must warn the Slovene public of this great danger that is threatening us.

On the other hand the whole of Eastern Europe is facing a great danger of not so much the revival of communism but rather of fascistization. You see, when a society reaches the state of spiritual aimlessness, when there is no clear concept as to where and how to go and when on the other hand we are burdened by mundane problems and are living from day to day, then it is perfectly obvious that people will be losing courage and that somebody might rise very quickly who would say: I am the man who will show you the way. Then of course, a scapegoat must be found, and the foreign workers may be the scapegoat in Slovenia today, the xenophobia starts developing, and very quickly we can find ourselves in the situation of Weimar Germany prior to Hitler. [passage omitted]

## Rupel Denies 'Problem' Over Osimo Accords

*PM0712151092 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 5 Dec 92 p 4*

[Interview with Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Renato Pera in Ljubljana; date not given]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana—[passage omitted] "I have very little time to give you," he begins, cutting out all the preliminaries; "What do you want to talk to me about?"

[Pera] About the Osimo problem, Mr. Minister.

[Rupel] Problem? What problem? For me there is no Osimo problem.

[Pera] Well then, if you prefer, let us say about the discontent spreading in Italy, and especially in Trieste, ever since it was discovered that our government had acknowledged, without batting an eyelid, indeed "with particular satisfaction," your 50 verbal notes in which you declare that you have taken Yugoslavia's place in every aspect of the agreements which Belgrade signed with Rome: including, therefore, the Osimo agreements.

[Rupel] As you can see, it is your problem.

[Pera] Not only ours, if you felt the need a couple of weeks ago to meet with [Italian Foreign Minister] Emilio Colombo in Graz. And to reach an agreement on setting up a bilateral Italian-Slovenian commission, which will meet in January to negotiate certain modifications to Osimo, excluding those concerning the borders. At the center of these modifications which we have asked for, there is the one on the legislation concerning property confiscated from the exiles who were forced to leave Istria and Dalmatia. So I ask you: Is Slovenia willing to return to our compatriots that part of such property over which it has authority?

[Rupel] Under Osimo, Yugoslavia agreed to give the Italian Government the sum of $110 million, in 13 yearly installments starting in January 1990, by way of compensation, thereby closing the issue.

[Pera] Which we would now like to reopen. So I am asking you again: Do you intend to return the houses and land to their rightful owners?

[Rupel] As a matter of principle I am willing to examine what can be done, if there is some particularly serious case, if justice must be done. History is very interesting, but if we get ourselves into it too deeply, we are in danger of complicating things. Do not forget that we too have our feelings, especially those Slovenians who were forced to emigrate from the area around Trieste. A pragmatic approach is needed, and it is best, therefore, to delay everything until after tomorrow's elections when the debate will be clearer, more serene, and more earnest. Osimo is a closed book; new problems await us now.

[Pera] Let us try reopening this book for a moment, if you don't mind. In accordance with a more recent agreement than Osimo, signed by Rome and Belgrade on 13 February 1983 and in which, among other things, the sum of $110 million was settled on by way of compensation, a list was compiled of 179 exiles whose rights to the abandoned property were recognized. In the wake of that precedent, and in view of the laws you have recently passed on privatization and denationalization, would it not be possible to extend this benefit to all the exiles?

[Rupel] Our legislation is still fairly unclear on that point, and so there may be room for discussion. Today, a foreigner can invest with us, own an enterprise, form a joint venture; but it has not yet been established whether he can own real estate. As I said, we shall be able to look at a few cases, but an overall solution seems to me to be premature at this moment.

[Pera] In Italy, in Trieste, they do not really agree on this last matter, and tens of thousands of signatures have already been gathered in the capital of the Venezia-Giulia region [Trieste], in a movement which IL GIORNALE has extended to all its readers, to supersede Osimo, especially the part referring to the restitution of Italian property.

[Rupel] These are initiatives, rallies organized by the extreme right, by the neofascists.

[Pera] I think you will find it is the whole city that wants to renegotiate Osimo, not just Italian Social Movement members and sympathizers.

[Rupel] Problems between states must be solved between the governments and authorities of the two states; so tension must not be increased, but we must speak calmly and without prejudice or pressure. I beg you to understand that relations between states are not based on the quest for popularity or the manipulation of feelings. What happens occasionally in Trieste is bound to have repercussions on relations between Italy and Slovenia, on the imminent talks between our representatives and yours. We have our extremists too and if we wanted to we could mobilize them and ask for Trieste and Gorizia back, but whom would that profit? I see no reason to raise the level of tension, irredentism is an ugly animal; look at what is happening between Serbia and Bosnia.

[Pera] But without even needing to mobilize your extremists, you have apparently already increased, at the very least, the level of your demands, if not that of tension. There is talk of a document sent to [Italian] Prime Minister Amato where you are said to ask for the Slovenian minority to be treated in exactly the same way as Italy treats the German-speaking population of the Alto-Adige region. This request is quite unacceptable, if for no other reason than that the "Germans" in Alto-Adige are a majority while the Slovenians in Friuli-Venezia Giulia are a tiny minority.

[Rupel] This document you refer to does not exist; these are rumors skillfully circulated. On the minorities problem we have recently reached an agreement with Hungary and would like this agreement to act as a platform for the talks which we shall be having with Austria and Italy on the same topic. And now, if you will excuse me, I must leave you; I warned you I was very busy.

## Friendship Agreement Signed With Hungary

*AU0212084692 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 1 Dec 92*

[Excerpt] Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek and Hungarian Prime Minister Dr. Joszef Antall at midday signed a friendship and cooperation treaty between Slovenia and Hungary. Hungarian Industry Minister Ivan Szabo and [Slovene] Deputy Foreign Minister Vojka Ravbar at the same time signed a document that will form the basis for the signing of the agreement on free trade between the two countries. [passage omitted]

## Christian Democratic Party Platform

*93P20056B Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 29 Nov 92 p 6*

[SKD: "Ten Proposals for Happier Slovenia"]

[Text] SKD [The Slovene Christian Democratic Party] emulates modern Christian democracies. Our activities are based on the right to personal freedom, inviolability, and dignity of each individual. Slovene Christian Democrats favor:

1. Importance of Families

The SKD supports the family as the foundation of the nation. Therefore, we want to pay special care to families and through educational and legislative actions correct what has been neglected in the past. We want to create a social climate that will be supportive of families and children.

2. Respect and Reward for Women

We consider women equal members of the society, which is proven by the fact that we have the most women candidates among all Slovene parties.

3. Better Future for Our Youth and Value of Sports

The SKD will use all resources to enable equal participation of youth in all political decisions on the party and state level. We appreciate and emphasize the educational value of sports, its health value, and its impact on mass recreation. We support the development of high achievement in sports to enhance Slovenia's reputation in the world.

4. Real Representation of Retirees

The SKD endeavors to enable elderly citizens of Slovenia to have proper representation and status in the society. Retirees must not be pushed to the fringes of society. We favor including the elderly in the families.

5. Health and a Clean Environment

We wish to preserve Slovenia for our descendants— in a healthy environment. Therefore, quality of life can only grow parallel with the efforts to protect the environment and natural resources.

6. Cultural Slovenia

We consider the culture of the nation to be a distinctive vital balance of its creative forces. We support broad-based individual education, a school system which inculcates our Slovene roots and at the same time educates toward integration with the rest of Europe. We want to regulate the legal position of the religious communities as is required by the Human Rights Declaration.

7. Social Security and a Fair System

A market economy and a social-minded state do not oppose each other. We will endorse all legal measures that ensure a just system and the conditions for the social well-being of all citizens. We will also support all forms of self-help and ensure equality of all nonprofit organizations.

8. Social and Market Economy

A combination of a social and a market economy can thrive only in a pluralistic democracy. Therefore, we will protect all elements of the freedom we have achieved, and oppose all those who wish to return us to the past. We are open to the development of new technologies in industry and to an influx of capital that will not threaten Slovene interests. We primarily support craftsmen who create jobs and reduce unemployment.

9. Importance of Farmers and a Fair Price for Their Work

Agriculture should aim to produce healthy food at fair prices, thereby establishing the social stability of the rural areas. Cooperative farming should become a way of life and a means for renewing our villages.

10. Slovenia's Reputation in the World

We are the only Slovene party which is a full member of two European party federations (The European Christian Democratic Union and The European Democratic Union) and has the most international contacts. Our party also links and pays special attention to the Slovenes abroad. We will also strive for a lasting peace, an end to war, and good-neighborly relations.

## Slovene National Party Platform Presented

*93P20056A Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 24 Nov 92 p 5*

[Article by Zmago Jelincic: "Slovene National Party"]

[Text] The welfare of the Slovene nation, to be its own master on its own soil is the primary and basic program aim of the Slovene National Party [SNS], from which all other more detailed and direct goals originate:

1. Fully sovereign and independent Republic of Slovenia within this framework, SNS strives for and aims at a fully sovereign Republic of Slovenia without regulatory ties to the other parts of Yugoslavia, regardless of their domestic systems. Cooperation is to be based on mutual interests.

SNS favors free integration into the United Europe.

2. Economically strong Republic of Slovenia

We will especially support programs that enable us to preserve a healthy environment, development of tourism, small businesses, and agriculture.

We strive to eliminate large complexes of basic and heavy industry, which have no chances of economic survival.

3. Culturally developed Republic of Slovenia

The SNS will support the artistic, creative inclinations of the Slovene nation.

4. Unemployment in Republic of Slovenia

We will introduce reeducation, reemployment and new jobs programs as well as ensure social well-being for the unemployed and inadequately employed Slovenes. This means to ensure new job opportunities exclusively where the work force resides and to ensure the exclusive priority for Slovene workers— to be masters of their own land.

5. Position on family and religious belief

The SNS considers the family the fundamental unit of society, which is the basis of support for a strong Slovene nation.

We will respect religious beliefs within the framework of Slovenia's historic trends as well as individual decisions on religious affiliations.

6. Socially secure Republic of Slovenia

The SNS will ensure social welfare to all Slovenes and Slovene citizens. Foreigners will be treated as an external labor force as they are treated in modern European countries. It will be difficult and honorable to obtain Slovene citizenship.

7. Militarily strong and secure Republic of Slovenia

The SNS is absolutely in favor of a sovereign Slovene Army, organized on a modern basis.

The SNS advocates the right to possess arms.

8. Health system in Republic of Slovenia

Besides government institutions, the SNS supports free initiative in the health system.

Every productive citizen will participate in basic health insurance. Care for the elderly will also be of special importance.

9. Science in Republic of Slovenia

Basic science and institutions of higher learning must serve the development of society and economy.

10. Restoration and preservation of natural and cultural heritage of Slovenia

The SNS will strive for a complete preservation and revitalization of the cultural and natural heritage of the Slovene nation and its national character.

—SNS President Zmago Jelincic

## Federal

### Seselj Warns Against 'New Vietnam' in Bosnia

*LD0712222992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2148 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, December 7 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) Vojislav Seselj said on Monday [7 December] the world would have a new Vietnam if international forces intervened in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Taking part in the panel discussion "Guest of TANJUG", Seselj said his party would not leave the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina in a lurch.

A rightist and nationalist party, the SRS is the most numerous opposition party in the federal parliament.

A civil, ethnic and religious war raged in Bosnia-Hercegovina for eight months between the Serbs (31 percent of the Bosnia-Hercegovina population), on the one side, and the local Muslims (44 percent) and Croats (17 percent), on the other. The latter were being aided by several tens of thousand of regular troops from the neighboring, also seceded Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. The conflict emerged over disagreements concerning the future constitutional arrangement for this former Yugoslav republic.

Leader of Serbian radicals Seselj said his party "had no paramilitary formations", but that its members, as volunteers, participated in the Army and police of the Republic of Serbia (RSK) and of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina—the states Serbs proclaimed in parts of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and were under orders of the local commanders.

Seselj said the radicals were the sole opposition party in Serbia championing the Serbian national interest. Besides the SRS, in Seselj's view, this was being done only by the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), whose leader was Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Defining the Serbian national interest, Seselj set out it was in that all Serbs who lived in the former Yugoslavia, including also those from the seceded republics, live in one state, that the "Serbian policy is being created solely in Serbia," that "modern economy be renewed" and that the rule of law based on social justice be developed.

According to Seselj, the SRS did not have its own candidate in the early presidential elections in Serbia set for December 20 because it opposed choosing a new president before the term of office of the present one expired.

Seselj said he thought the Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic was traitor to the Serbian national interests. Panic is seen as the most serious contender to Milosevic in the elections for Serbian president.

The SRS leader's stand was that if Panic would have to leave after the election, the same would have to apply to Yugoslav President Cosic, who, as he said, was "supporting him."

### Turkish Troop Proposal Criticized

*LD0712203592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1855 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today described "as directly endorsing further esclation of the war conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina" the decision by the Turkish Government to present the country's parliament with a proposal to send Turkish troops to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In its statement, forwarded to TANJUG, the Yugoslav Government says:

"The decision by the Turkish Government to submit to the country's parliament a proposal to send Turkish troops to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina will mean a direct endorsement of the further escalation of the war conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina. To encourage one side to continue operations in this civil and ethnic conflict will increase the number of casualties and prolong the suffering of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"Such a decision is in contravention of the conclusions reached by the London conference. It can damage the process of negotiations in Geneva as well as the peace efforts by the United Nations and the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia. At the same time, it incites extremist Islamic factors to interfere and to further encourage the religious character of the conflict.

"The FRY Government wishes to note that during the meetings between Prime Minister Milan Panic and Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, between Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic and Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, as well as in other contacts with the Turkish side, it stated clearly that the solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina could be found in a peaceful way only on the basis of equal respect for the legitimate rights of all three nations. It has been stressed on several occasions that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims against this former Yugoslav republic and that it is prepared to recognize it once its legitimate government is set up consisting of representatives of all three national communities. Yugoslavia has sharply condemned the practice of ethnic cleansing and human rights violations regardless of who commits them. A proposal was also put forward to set up a corridor through FRY territory to deliver humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina. To this end, cooperation was set up with international humanitarian organizations and many states, including Turkey. Of particular importance is the fact that the volume and intensity of armed clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina has diminished considerably thanks to the efforts of the FRY Government. At this moment the focus of attention must be placed on establishing peace and on humanitarian aspects of the

problem with the aim of alleviating the suffering of the population—of all three nationalities.

"In view of all this and of the serious and far-reaching nature of possible negative consequences of the Turkish Government's decision for not just the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina but for the entire region, the FRY Government wishes to express hope that the Turkish Government will abandon its dangerous course and will accept the need to search for a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina as the only possible solution and in this way will exert pressure on the Muslim side to accept a peaceful option. The FRY Government reiterates its readiness in the future to contribute to common efforts to stop the war conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to reach a generally acceptable common solution. It would appreciate it if its attitude is met with the understanding and support from the Turkish side."

## Panic: Sanctions Removal To Begin in December

*93BA0279E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 92 p 5*

[Article by B. Radivojsa: "Panic: Removal of the Sanctions Will Begin in Mid-December"]

[Text] Bogatic, 17 Nov—Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic together with Agriculture Minister Dr. Ratko Lazarevic visited Macva yesterday. He first visited the little town of Bogatic, where in the overflowing auditorium of the opstina Assembly he talked to farmers from this region.

"A rich agriculture is a rich society. Our objective is for the peasants to produce as much as possible and to live well from their work," the prime minister told the farmers. Turning to the criticism of the farmers that "there is no money" and that "inflation is eating up their income before they get their money," he said that inflation is being used in our country so that there is more and more manipulation and less and less production. The prime minister said that we must make a system in which "doing good work is the only way to live well."

### How To Cross the Drina

The farmers complained to the prime minister about the problems of getting back their former landholdings. Thus, Zivan Djindjic said that he had received a decision awarding him the parcels of land, but that he had not received the land. In response to Djindjic's criticism that inflation, because of the lateness of payment, has completely devalued the money to which he was entitled, the prime minister added that the most honest way would be to pay the peasants the difference they lost because of the decreased value of the money.

"I want to make the elections fair and democratic. If they are not democratic, they will not be successful."

Before talking to the farmers, Panic and Minister Lazarevic talked to representatives of the "Macvanin" Agroindustrial Combine in Bogatic. Veselin Davidovic, that firm's manager, told the prime minister about problems faced by the combine because of application of the Law on Restoration of Land to Former Owners. "Macvanin" has been left without plowland, with an immense amount of machinery and two large livestock farms, so that most of the employees have nothing to do now.

The prime minister, as he would later do in the discussion with the farmers, displayed his now well-known distaste for vague speeches. He asked to be presented the problems which the socialized sector of agriculture is facing here and to see how the federal government can help in this regard. Panic was particularly surprised by the high price of land in Macva. He was told that between 5,000 and 10,000 German marks are being paid per hectare of plowland. He immediately remarked that that is too much and that at this point it would perhaps be more profitable to put the money in the bank. Or perhaps, nevertheless, the land is the best bank, the prime minister added.

### We Are Going To Make California Here

After the talk to the farmers in the opstina Assembly and to the work force of the Bogatic agroindustrial combine, Milan Panic also visited several farm households. In the afternoon hours, the prime minister and his associates were persuaded to stay for lunch by Milivoje Teodorovic in Salas Crnobarski.

The proposal of Dragoljub Puzic of Bogatic—that the federal prime minister also visit some other peasants, not just those "arranged in advance," was immediately taken up and approved by Panic. The host was Miladin Puzic, one of the typical representatives of the middle stratum of Macva peasants.

The people of Macva took their guests to Klenje to visit the well-known Bogatic host Zdravko Popovic, who raises hogs on a large scale and owns a mill and bakeries and sells his bread even in Belgrade, and soon will be opening a gasoline station. Everything, he said, he got by strenuous work in collaboration with the combine. The discussion at Popovic's house became a virtual press conference. Panic was showered with a large number of questions from journalists, most of which had to do with the sanctions and the upcoming elections.

"I am an optimist, although I see that there is no petroleum here," Panic said. "Removal of the sanctions is the most important, and I expect this to begin in the middle of next month. The sanctions are very undemocratic and were introduced against the politicians, but they have hurt the poorest people the most. This situation is worse than in Stalin's time," Panic said. "Now we have no one to appeal to. Even the Greeks are not our friends, but the Americans still are," Panic said.

In answer to the question of whether the federal prime minister is thinking about staying in his present office

after the election, he categorically said that he was counting on it, and in answer to the question of whether he would run, he explained that according to some people he is already a candidate.

"Constant recollection of the past leads nowhere," Panic said. "There is a future even without the past. We in California have only a future. We have turned the desert into the richest land in the world, and we achieved that because the system made it possible for us to do so. That means that even here, where the conditions are better than in the United States, the system must undergo change. We will make a similar system, we will manage to make a California from Yugoslavia as well."

In Panic's opinion, life with Tito is the reason that lies behind this situation. This was living on credit. It did support people, but it resulted in idleness, corruption, bribery, and it created a government of speculators. Serbia fared the worst in that because it was strongest. We are paying the bill today, Panic concluded.

## Tightening of Sanctions Effect on Transportation

*93BA0279D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 92 p 11*

[Article by C. Lakic: "Blockade on All Sides"]

[Text] The current problems in transportation, which unfortunately existed even before the embargo was introduced, have now piled up to such an extent that in the coming period they will represent a serious challenge to the federal and republic governments, and above all for each of the transportation branches separately.

Dr. Milan Vujicic, federal minister for transportation and communications, said in a press conference yesterday that the position of the transportation industry is very serious and in the first six months of the year had among the largest losses in the economy relative to its participation in the totals for the national economy.

The minister said to support his statement that our entire air fleet was grounded and river fleet tied up back at the beginning of the summer, so that the figures for them are the most tragic. In air transportation and navigable rivers, operations were down over 70 percent in the first nine months of the year. Over that same period, rail freight and passenger traffic was down 16 percent. In highway transportation, the volume was off only 1 percent, but still freight traffic was down 11 percent. In this branch, we should particularly point out the emergence of private carriers, whose operations are more intensive and flexible, because all the revenues realized are the exclusive interest of the vehicle owners.

In PTT [postal, telegraph, and telephone] services, a somewhat larger volume than last year was even recorded, but only in the field of telecommunications. Mail traffic has continued to fall.

In answer to the question from the newsmen of when telephone connections with Croatia would be reestablished, Milan Vujicic said that there had been meetings with representatives from Croatia and that willingness has been expressed on both sides for this to happen as soon as possible. The Croatian side is continuing to insist on conclusion of an intergovernmental treaty in this area.

The most recent UN resolution has something to do with five vessels of Jugooceanija of Kotor being detained in U.S. ports, although these vessels have been under the flag of other countries for several months now.

A recent decision for foreign river shippers to pay a fee for traveling the Danube has met with displeasure from shipping firms of the Danube countries. A meeting of interested governments and shippers was held in this connection in Budapest on Monday, and our representatives explained the reasons for imposing the fee. That is, when our ships were traveling the entire course of the Danube, they were paying certain fees in this country, and they were used to maintain signals along the Danube and to do other necessary work. Now our shippers are unable to travel, and there are no funds.

The Federal Ministry for Transportation and Communications will very soon prepare a number of laws embodying the system that would regulate in a more modern way the business operation of rail, highway, air, river, and maritime transportation. The federal ministry believes that it is best to take over regulations and laws from the more advanced countries.

Commenting on the most recent devaluation of the dinar, Milan Vujicic said that it has its good and bad sides. It has actually legalized exchange rates that were far from the official rates, but were those being used by most business entities. At the same time, after the devaluation dinar obligations on credits in dollars have risen considerably.

The newsmen were also informed about certain licenses in the area of radio communications, which is more and more in evidence in the business operation of firms, mainly in the provinces, as well as licenses for certain small radio stations.

Nevertheless, the most unpleasant thing that was said yesterday was the observation that the most recent resolution for tightened control of transit is a direct blow to the $85 million that is annually realized in this activity.

**[Box, p 11]**

**The JRB [Yugoslav River Shipping Line]: "Winter Quarters Before Winter"**

Not a single vessel of the JRB is abroad at this point, TANJUG was told yesterday by Vera Medic, deputy director of the JRB.

Almost 90 percent of the sizable fleet, one of the largest on the Danube, has since the second half of July been anchored in port, and only 10 percent are operating in domestic transportation.

Because of weather and hydrological conditions, even that percentage will soon drop considerably and go off to winter quarters or to repair yards.

At the beginning of this year, the JRB planned to carry about two million tons of crude petroleum and about one and a half million tons of dry cargo. However, before application of the sanctions in midyear, barely 45 percent of the planned volume had been achieved, it was said in the Yugoslav River Shipping Line.

## Serbia

### Legality of Panic's Candidacy Remains Uncertain

*AU0712163592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] The Constitutional Court of Serbia will forward today to the national assembly a proposal to assess the constitutionality of the contentious article of the law regarding the election of the president of the Republic of Serbia. The conclusions of the Constitutional Court of Serbia stress that the national assembly is expected to reply in the shortest possible time. Srdjan Savic reports from the session of the Constitutional Court:

[Savic] On the basis of these conclusions, it is uncertain as to whether Prime Minister Panic will be one of the candidates for president of Serbia. The Constitutional Court is legally bound to address the republic assembly, which, according to the law, must reply within 15 days. Therefore, the unanimously adopted conclusions of the Supreme Court stress that the court expects the assembly to reply in the shortest possible time, so that the constitutional court could make timely decisions.

There is still, however, the possibility of Panic standing as a presidential candidate. The official proposer, the Fund for the Advancement of Democracy, sent the Constitutional Court a request for the issue of a temporary measure, by which the contentious article of the law on the election of the president of Serbia would not be applied until its constitutional validity has been checked. The judges of the Constitutional Court of Serbia stated that they will discuss this law as soon as possible.

Regardless of whether the third article of the law on the election of the president of the Republic of Serbia is found constitutional or unconstitutional, Federal Prime Minister Panic will be on the list of candidates for president of the republic if the Constitutional Court of Serbia adopts this temporary measure.

### Commission Head on Candidacy

*AU0712163192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Excerpt] Following various interpretations of the decision of the republican electoral commission on the candidacy of Milan Panic, Vuk Draskovic, and Captain Dragan Vasiljkovic for the post of the president of the republic, Caslav Ignjatovic, head of the electoral commission, held a news conference. He said that the decisions by the commission were not ordered and that the commission acted strictly according to the law. Radovan Pantovic reports:

[Radoslav Pantovic] The commission made all decisions in a profound belief that they are neither bureaucratic nor ordered. This was stated by Caslav Pantovic, head of the republican electoral commission. Commenting on the various interpretations of its decisions, he stressed that the commission was asked to confirm that Milan Panic had had a permanent place of abode a year before the elections, which, as he said, is not correct.

[Begin Ignjatovic recording] I do not want to comment on the decision of the Supreme Court of Serbia, but I want to stress that it is being incorrectly interpreted in the public. It is not correct that its decision has confirmed the candidacy. It is not correct that we were ordered to confirm the candidacy. The court's decision asks us only to consider in the future yet another law, the law on movement and residence of foreigners. We examined the law and established that this law demands an explicit request by a foreigner to be accepted, that is, to be granted residence. Mr. Milan Panic does not claim that he had asked for it even in his appeal. [end recording]

[Pantovic] The request by Vuk Draskovic to withdraw his candidacy came after the deadline before which he was allowed to withdraw from running for presidency and was thus rejected.

Regarding the candidacy of Captain Dragan Vasiljkovic, Caslav Ignjatovic said that, following the request by Captain Dragan, the commission subsequently added the nickname of captain to the candidate's name. In addition, his written request for withdrawing his candidacy was not received by the commission in time, and he thus remains on the list.

All the commission's decisions still depend on the appeals to the supreme court, and thus it is still possible that Milan Panic will find himself on the list and that Vuk Draskovic be taken off. The list will be closed after the final decision of the Supreme Court.

In a reply to the question as to when this could be expected, the head of the Electoral Commission said:

[Begin Ignjatovic recording] This could theoretically take forever. If the executive body, in this case the republican electoral commission, shows a lack of readiness to respect the stands of the Supreme Court, the

Supreme Court could take [words indistinct]. Therefore, this matter must be finalized. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Party Leaders Protest Rejection

*LD0712214892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2059 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—Serbian opposition leaders said on Monday that the rejection of the candidacy of Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic in Serbia's presidential elections was a farce by the Serbian regime.

The regime in Serbia has put politics above the law and ignored a decision by the Serbian Supreme Court, since it is aware that Panic will win the elections, said representatives of the Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos)—a forum of opposition parties and independent intellectuals,—of the Democratic Party, of the Civil Alliance and the Social Democratic Party during a meeting with Panic. According to Panic's office, the meeting was organized at the request of opposition leaders.

The Serbian Electoral Commission failed to accept a ruling by the republic's Supreme Court that Panic should be allowed to run in the elections, arguing that Panic did not have a minimum one-year residence in Serbia as envisaged by the election law.

Panic's lawyers and a student on Monday submitted another appeal to the Supreme Court, and the Constitutional Court opened a procedure to assess the constitutionality of the residence-related article.

Last week, the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) said Panic's candidacy should be accepted so that his unpopularity could be proved and the victory of SPS leader and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic not minimalized.

Leader of the Democratic Party Dragoljub Micunovic told reporters in Nis on Monday his party would boycott the elections if Panic was banned from them.

The Students' Union of Novi Sad on Monday demanded that Panic be allowed to run in the elections which, as they said, would serve both democracy and Serbia.

Panic was put onto the ballot at the initiative of the students. According to Panic's office, opposition leaders said the regime in Serbia upset the conditions of equality in the election campaign, thus seriously questioning the holding of early elections on December 20.

They said the SPS imposed unequal conditions, using primarily the state television which favoured the SPS more openly than in the election campaign two years ago.

In protest against this policy of the ruling party, the opposition will organize a pre-election rally in Belgrade to tell the truth to the people which cannot be heard over the state media, opposition leaders said.

### Commission Denies Irregularities With Lists

*AU0712205092 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] At their joint session held today, the supervisory committee and the republic electoral commission discussed the preparations for elections in Serbia. They came to the conclusion that the elections work has so far been completed in time and in accordance with regulations. This work includes setting up electoral commissions, preparation of instructions for work, codification of the federal and republican regulations, and direct work in electoral units to explain certain legal provisions as thoroughly as possible.

A statement issued at the session regarding the reports in some media that the electoral rolls are being manipulated and that the rolls do not include the names of those citizens who did not take part in the referendum cites the president of the electoral commission as saying that this did not correspond to facts. He stated that the federal and republican laws have established for the first time that the final electoral rolls must be completed two days before the elections. In this way the citizens are given the opportunity to use their right to be entered in the electorate rolls by 18 December.

According to a statement by the representatives of the republican institute for statistics, it has been established using expert methods that there are 7,013,797 voters in Serbia, which, compared to the number of adult citizens determined by the 1991 census, represents a deviation of only 0.2 percent.

Regarding the candidacy of Milan Panic for the post of the president of the Republic of Serbia and the fact that the president of the electoral commission is at the same time the president of the Supreme Court of Serbia, members of the supervisory committee raised the question of compatibility of these two posts. [sentence as heard] According to the explanation given, while he is performing the role of the president of the republican electoral commission, the president of the Supreme Court of Serbia may not take part in the court's decisionmaking on electoral issues.

Members of the supervisory committee and the republican electoral commission concluded that the necessary conditions have been created in Serbia for foreign observers to follow the course of the early elections, and that they are already registering with the relevant organs.

### Democratic Party Threatens Election Boycott

*LD0712170892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 7 Dec 92*

[Text] Nis, 7 December (TANJUG)—If Milan Panic is not allowed to run for Serbian president, the Democratic Party will boycott the presidential elections, Party Chairman Dragoljub Micunovic said today.

"We endorsed Panic as a candidate for Serbian president, and if he is prevented from running, the Democratic Party will not stand in the elections," Micunovic said at a press conference in Nis.

He added that the party will boycott all elections if the regularity of voters' lists is questioned and if Serbian television continues brutally violating the agreed rules for media behavior during the election campaign.

"That means that we would be waging some kind of war in which only the ruling party has arms, so participation in the elections would be meaningless," Micunovic assessed.

Micunovic today lodged a severe protest with the Democratic Movement of Serbia and the Serbian Renaissance Movement, which put their posters over the Democratic Party's posters announcing a big convention in the Cair Hall this evening.

## Poll Shows Voter Preferences Before Elections

*93BA0247A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 92 pp 26-28*

[Article by Dr. Miladin Kovacevic, Dr. Srdjan Bogosavljevic, and the MF Agency: "TV's Influence on the Ghostly Voters"]

[Text] From 25 to 27 October, the MF Agency of Belgrade conducted an extensive field survey among citizens of Serbia (not including Kosovo and Metohija) on the rating of political parties, coalitions, and politicians, as well as on views related to current issues on which the public and political scene are polarized. The agency conducted a similar survey in late August of this year, so that there was an opportunity to analyze changes that occurred during September and October.

The survey was based on a random sample of people executed according to the principles of probability and the regional and structural distributions of the adult population. The sample consisted of a total of 1,500 persons distributed among regional strata (Vojvodina, Belgrade, central Serbia, and Sandzak) in proportion to the size of the electorate. In each stratum, the sample was chosen in three stages (opstinas, local communities, and individuals) resulting in approximately equal probabilities of the choice of the individuals. The opstinas and settlements (local communities) were chosen in proportion to the size of their respective electorate. The polltakers were responsible for choosing people by settlements, according to instructions that controlled the age-sex and educational-social composition of the sample. Insofar as the age-specific and education-specific structure of the sample as a whole departs from the composition of the population (as established in the 1991 Population Census), the results were adjusted by the procedure called poststratification (weighting estimates at the level of age-education-specific groups).

A political party's strength is not manifested in the number of its members, but in the size of the electorate disposed to support it. The question "If the election were held in Serbia today, for which party would you vote?" yielded the following order of participation of adherents in the total electorate, possibly reduced by the share of those who would not vote and who at the same time refused to be polled (consistently resistant).

| Party | Percentage of Vote |
|---|---|
| Socialist Party of Serbia/SPS | 24.0 |
| Serbian Radical Party/SRS | 10.0 |
| Serbian Renewal Movement/SPO | 8.0 |
| Democratic Party/DS | 7.7 |
| Democratic Party of Serbia/DSS | 4.5 |
| Democratic Action Party/SDA | 2.9 |
| Serbian National Renewal/SNO | 1.8 |
| People's Party/NS | 1.2 |
| Citizen Alliance/GSS | 1.1 |
| League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia/SK-PJ | 1.1 |
| Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians/DZVM | 1.1 |
| Some other party | 2.6 |
| Uncommitted | 22.5 |
| Would not vote | 8.1 |
| Other | 3.4 |

The rating of the SPS has fallen about 5 percentage points since the end of August. The rating of the SRS has fallen about 4 percentage points over that same period, while the SPO has remained the same. The rating of the Democratic Party has risen considerably (about 3 percentage points), and so has the rating of the Democratic Party of Serbia (about 2 percentage points). The share of the uncommitted has risen about 3.5 percent, while the share of those who would not vote has dropped about 2 percent. The only "small" party, not counting the parties of the ethnic minorities, which

remains recognizable, is the Serbian National Renewal, which holds at the level of 2 percent of the electorate.

The formation of a coalition by opposition parties brings them an evident gain over the incumbent party and its correlated SRS. The formation of coalitions during October yields the following pattern of the outlook of the voters:

| Party | Percentage of Vote |
|---|---|
| SPS | 23.9 |
| Democratic Movement of Serbia/DEPOS | 17.6 |
| SRS | 10.4 |
| DS | 7.3 |
| GSS | 1.3 |
| Some other slate | 5.9 |
| Uncommitted | 21.7 |
| Would not vote | 11.9 |

It is notable that DEPOS is considerably "stronger" than the sum of its parts, which indicates a favorable effect of the coalition or the favorable effect of the muted need for party identification.

The opposition might read the most important message from the answer to the question "If a United Opposition were headed in the election in Serbia by D. Cosic and M. Panic, for whom would you vote?"; this question yielded the following order:

| Party | Percentage of Vote |
|---|---|
| United Opposition | 33.2 |
| SPS | 21.1 |
| SRS | 8.4 |
| Some other slate | 7.1 |
| Uncommitted | 18.4 |
| Would not vote | 11.6 |

The impact of M. Panic and D. Cosic on the balance of political power is evident if the opposition should unite and if they explicitly place themselves on the side of the opposition. Not only would the opposition parties increase their strength by drawing from the uncommitted, they would also draw from the SPS and SRS, whose number of potential voters diminishes.

The potential orientation of the uncommitted is a question of paramount importance for campaign strategies and for forecasting the outcome of the election. The "swing voters," who in any case have a decisive impact on the outcome of elections even in the "old" democracies, probably belong in this category. It is assumed that this stratum of voters asserts a "rational formula" of commitment by contrast with others, whose commitment is subject to identification with a party. (Rational commitment presupposes prediction of chances of self-interest being satisfied.)

The possible orientation of the uncommitted is indicated by figures on their attitudes toward leaders of the parties and toward D. Cosic, who has an undoubtedly high influence on voter commitment. On the basis of favorable assessments of party leaders, it is possible to evaluate the disposition of the uncommitted and the possible gain of the parties at the time of the vote:

| Party | Percentage of Uncommitted Favorably Inclined Toward Party's Leader |
|---|---|
| SPS | 25.8(23) |
| SPO | 9.7(10) |
| DSS | 18.9(21) |
| DS | 23.9(26) |
| SRS | 22.7(20) |

In the case of the DSS and DS, there is a somewhat higher percentage of the uncommitted who are neutral (estimate 0). The estimates given in parentheses, then, are more likely. At this moment, the parties above can count on the following maximum number of percentage points drawn from the group of uncommitted:

| Party | Additional Percentage Points Drawn From Uncommitted |
|---|---|
| SPS | + 5 |
| SPO | + 2 |
| DSS | + 5 |
| DS | + 6 |
| SRS | + 5 |

That is: If the opposition comes together into a Democratic Coalition, it could count on an additional 13 percent of the vote, that is, a total vote that would guarantee it victory in the election. The behavior of the opposition parties and leaders also has decisive importance for the incumbent party, whose chance of victory lies mainly in possible disagreements within the opposition and in a subsequent coalition with the SRS. But the most important thing for the SPS is to keep Panic, and still more Cosic, as far as possible from opposition coalitions. If it succeeds in that and if the opposition is divided, Milosevic's party will not need the help of the Radicals to win.

The sample is not large enough so that it can yield estimates at the level of regions or electoral units with high probability. Nevertheless, on the basis of earlier monitoring of public opinion and indicative estimates from the sample by electoral units, a judgment can be made on the rating of the political parties and coalitions in various regions.

Approximate estimates of the strength of the parties by regions are as follows:

**Regional Distribution of the Strength of the Parties, in percentage**

| City | SPS | SRS | DS | SPO | DSS | Uncommitted | Not Voting | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Belgrade | 18 | 10 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 20 | 10 | 12 |
| Novi Sad | 26 | 11 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 23 | 3 | 20 |
| Zrenjanin | 26 | 12 | 5 | 6 | | 38 | 7 | 16 |
| Uzice | 22 | 8 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 21 | 9 | 18 |
| Kragujevac | 21 | 9 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 29 | 9 | 10 |
| Smederevo | 26 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 40 | 5 | 14 |
| Nis | 25 | 6 | 12 | 10 | 2 | 17 | 18 | 10 |
| Leskovac | 44 | 17 | 9 | 7 | | 18 | 3 | 2 |

The regional distribution shows more or less well-known differences, contained in the observation that the south and southeast are the most solid points of support for the government, while Belgrade, central and western Serbia, and Vojvodina open up opportunities for the opposition. However, the high percentage of the uncommitted in the Smederevo and Zrenjanin electoral units make it difficult to forecast the result in these two regions and opens up room for new political regroupings.

It is an indisputable fact that television is the most powerful means of influencing voters, just as it is indisputable that the SPS is a privileged party. For that matter, the very election of the director of television to the leadership of the SPS is a demonstration of power pure and simple.

Although 36.3 percent responded to the question "What is for you the most reliable source of political information?" by saying that they trusted no one, while 28 percent said they believed television, answers to the other questions show that television does manage to generate the attitudes of the viewers and makes public opinion the same way a cook bakes a cake. Questions to which television devotes attention yield responses heaped up on the side to which public opinion has been directed by the position taken by television. For example, in answer to the question "Should the Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija have a university with instruction in their own language and with their own course material?" only 6.3 percent answered affirmatively, while 53 percent were unreservedly negative. It is difficult to recognize in these answers independent judgment based on examination of the pros and cons.

It is much the same with the recognition of Macedonia: 49.2 percent are against, and only 22.2 percent for. Again in response to the question "What should the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] do in case of military intervention in Bosnia and Hercegovina?" the responses are concentrated, and only 12 percent favor neutrality, while 48 percent favor military involvement. Only 12.4 percent are doubtful about the prospects of the FRY as a state community, although more than half of the population have a presentiment of social unrest and conflicts that would be caused by one of the political parties (56.9 percent).

Only 7 percent believe that the sanctions were justifiably introduced, as against 60.8 percent of those who know that the move of the international community was not justified, yet 43.2 percent think that the sanctions can be withstood.

The responses are dispersed in answer to questions to which television does not devote very much attention. On the question of the appropriate name for the joint state of Serbia and Montenegro, 39.8 percent favor the name already given, 32.7—the Federation of Serbian States, and 10.2 percent—the name Serbia and Montenegro. Opinions are also uniformly distributed concerning the Milosevic-Panic conflict. Milosevic is the cause in the opinion of 28.2 percent, 28.6 percent believe Panic is the cause, and 20.5 percent think that the conflict is not real.

Television, then, has very great influence on public opinion, even though its credibility is widely challenged. Not only is there a high percentage of those who do not believe it, but in answer to the question "What do you think of Television Serbia?" 43 percent said that TV Serbia is the propaganda headquarters of the SPS, as against 21 percent for those who consider it objective.

In view of the fact that the daily newspapers have small circulations, it is no wonder that there is an extremely small percentage of those who obtain their information from the daily press and who at the same time trust it.

Finally, the poll confirmed the objections that the government's control of television is an outstanding weapon and that it enters the election contest with a considerable advantage, but it also showed that the opposition is not without quite serious chances of victory.

An outcome is also possible in which no one has sufficient advantage to form a government. The race has begun, at this moment the chances are even, while the SPS has technological superiority. The opposition will have to make more effort to neutralize the effects of television. The winning combination is well-known, but the author-president has not yet decided to become a politician-president.

**What do you think about TV Serbia (first and second programs)?**

| Opinion | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Propaganda center | 43.3 |
| No opinion | 33.0 |
| Objective | 21.0 |
| Opposition-oriented | 2.6 |

**What would result in removal of the sanctions?**

| Opinion | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Change of attitude in the world community | 29.7 |
| Cessation of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] | 21.6 |
| Cessation of the war and change of government | 19.7 |
| Change of government and departure of S. Milosevic | 17.9 |
| Nothing else | 11.2 |

**In case of military intervention in B-H, the FRY should:**

| Opinion | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Militarily Protect Serbs | 47.6 |
| Furnish material aid | 26.3 |
| Uncommitted | 13.8 |
| Remain neutral | 12.2 |

**Can the FRY withstand the UN sanctions?**

| Opinion | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Yes | 43.2 |
| No | 37.7 |
| Do not know | 19.1 |

**Should the Albanians in Kosovo have a university with instruction in their own language and with their own course materials?**

| Opinion | Percentage |
|---|---|
| No, they should not | 53.0 |
| They might have, but not government-financed | 29.2 |
| No position | 11.5 |
| Yes, they should, and it should be government-financed | 6.3 |

**Would the opposition be able to defend Serbian national interests?**

| Opinion | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Better than predecessors | 29.7 |
| No position | 23.7 |
| Less well than predecessors | 23.5 |
| Just the same | 23.0 |

## Party Leaders on Election Prospects of Milosevic

*93BA0287A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 92 pp 12-13*

[Text] What is your assessment of the position of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic a month before the election?

Rasim Ljajic, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak:

**Failed Opposition**

We feel that the opposition is disoriented and disorganized, and that this strengthens President Milosevic's position. The opposition has obviously failed to fully exploit Serbia's international isolation, into which Milosevic has drawn us. He himself has acknowledged that he solves problems by creating bigger problems out of smaller ones, so that Milosevic is obviously the best swimmer in the political backwater that is currently present in Serbia.

On the other hand, he always holds on to one of the potential focal points, such as Kosovo and Sandzak, for example, using them to further homogenize Serbs, and thus diverting the public's attention from economic problems. It is certain that Milosevic will try to engender as much chaos as possible in Serbia itself during this preelection period, and with the help of his main bases of support, such as Kosovo and Sandzak Serbs and naturally Vucelic's television, he enters the election race with

a significant lead. For this reason, we believe that it will be a success if the opposition gets between 30 and 40 percent of the electorate. Anything above that will be equivalent to an upset.

Prof. Dr. Ilija Rosic, member of the Social Democratic Party:

**Drop in Ratings**

I think that his ratings have dropped, despite the fact that a significant share of people still think that he should be president of Serbia.

I believe that the most important factor in Slobodan Milosevic's drop in ratings is the personnel encirclement, much more than his activities.

Nebojsa Jankovic, spokesman for the Democratic Party of Serbia:

**Only 35 Percent**

It is evident that the Serbian president's ratings have been dropping over the past six months, because of the two political figures whose ratings are on the rise. I think that if there were a good alternative candidate in the presidential election, he would not get more than 35 percent of the electorate. In Belgrade, Vojvodina, and Sumadija he would not get any more than 25 percent, and in southern Serbia around 50 percent.

Radomir Smiljanic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party for Serbia:

**Club Wrapped in Cellophane**

If the gentlemen in the West thought that by starving the Serbian people and the citizens of Yugoslavia they would put Serbian obstinacy to the test, they demonstrated a cowboy type of political dilettantism in their policy toward both the former and the current Yugoslavia. If we in the opposition can concentrate all our forces, we can place at the top of our lists, with their high-sounding names, the name of a great man like Dobrica Cosic. The gentlemen who are freezing children and destroying the sick and the helpless, destroying our cultural and sports ties with the world, are actually only consolidating Slobodan Milosevic's hold on power, against whom they are demonstrating the democracy of a club wrapped in cellophane.

Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic Party:

**He Is Clinically Dead**

There are few political figures in history whose objective position differs from their subjective position as much as is the case with Milosevic. Objectively, Milosevic is politically dead. Or to be more precise, he is clinically dead. There is not a single instrument of political medicine that could revive him. At the present time, however, and that means in people's consciousness, he has been such a presence that for many it is difficult to imagine Serbia without him.

Perhaps Serbia will break down over this horrible discord between Milosevic's objective and subject status, and not only this preelection Serbia, but also the Serbia of the near future. If we do not come to our senses, if the logic of reality does not overcome the logic of illusion, then we as a nation will find ourselves in the position of passengers on a spaceship who do not know that the star that they have chosen as their final refuge has long since disappeared, even though its light continues to wander through space for some time.

Milan Paroski, chairman of the People's Party:

**Imperiled Figure**

I think that Slobodan Milosevic is in an extremely undermined position, which naturally is detrimental not only to him, but also to Serbs and to this state. The ultimatums and extortion from the world, which are personified in the demand that he leave the political scene, the famous cry from the 14th Congress of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] that the congress is not finished, and the very bad moves that he has made, like supporting Ante Markovic at first, signing the Vance Plan (even though he was not chosen as president of the Republic in Vukovar, Knin, and Banja Luka, and thus contrary to the Serbian Constitution and the authorities of the president of the republic), the selection of two incompetent and very bad mandators (the first one, Zelenovic, left behind unfinished business, and the second, Bozovic, completely ruined the economy), the refusal to form a Serbian armed force and diplomatic corps, to unite the Serbian lands, the imposition of the Zabljak Constitution, the clashes with the federal prime minister whom he had brought to power, the clashes with President Cosic—all this shows that the president of the Republic of Serbia is a very imperiled figure. A statesman who has not done any quality work.

Aleksandar Ilic, vice chairman of the Serbian Liberal Party:

**Now Is Worse**

I think it is worse than before, but still solid enough that he could win. The same is true of his party, although it is in a somewhat worse position.

Vojisav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party:

**We Are Serious**

I do not pay much attention to other people's ratings. We are a serious political party, and we have no comment now about other parties.

Jovan Cepic, chairman of the Yugoslav Democratic Party:

**Fell With Police**

I believe that the reputation and popularity of Slobodan Milosevic and of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] declined significantly with the forcible usurpation and occupation of the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs of the FRY building. In any event, I think that Slobodan Milosevic, as the leading man of the SPS and as the head of state, should democratize relations and conduct in all public information media in Serbia.

## SPS Member on Milosevic Strength

*93BA0287B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 92 p 11*

[Interview with Vladimir Krsljanin, newly elected member of the executive committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia, by V. Marcetic; date and place not given: "Most Stable of All"]

[Text] [Krsljanin] Besides the fact that he convincingly has the most stable position of all political leaders in our country, the position of the Serbian president has been strengthened recently despite all the numerous attempts to discredit his person and his policy. There are many reasons for this. First, it proved to be the case that the frequent changes in political direction at a time when the homeland was in danger could not bring anyone political esteem and confidence. In addition, it can be seen now, through our country's example, that the policy of giving in to pressure does not exactly bring anything good with it. Through Russia's example, it is seen that it cannot even bring a just peace.

[Marcetic] Why is Russia mentioned very frequently?

[Krsljanin] Because of certain similarities in the historic situation over the past few years and because of similarities in Western policy toward the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. The West has applied a similar model, despite differences in the political system and in the organization of the state.

Russia recognized the administrative borders of the republics, but now it is hard to count the number of wars in those republics. The fact that there is peace here and that a minimum of social security has been preserved despite the invisible blockade, that the market and economic activity have not been extinguished, that the Yugoslav state has been preserved as the hope for self-determination of the Serbian nation, is due primarily to the strength of Serbia, which has been promoted by the wise and resolute policy of its president. With a strong Serbia, it is easier for the Serbs outside it to defend their rights and homes as well.

[Marcetic] What are the elements of this wisdom and resoluteness of the president's policy?

[Krsljanin] His consistent support for a peaceful solution while respecting the principles of international law and respecting the right to self-determination for the nations that was accorded to all the nations of the former Yugoslavia.

[Marcetic] In your opinion, what else contributes to the president's ratings?

[Krsljanin] I think that the president's position is also strengthened by his repeated link with the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], the strongest, most large-scale democratic political party in Serbia, which he founded, and whose membership is now showing renewed enthusiasm. The party leadership has been significantly rejuvenated, which promises greater efficiency in its operation. That is another factor that strengthens the president's position. Nor is it insignificant that he has agreed to elections at a very unfavorable time, believing in the democratic will and courage of the people to recognize, under the strongest pressure, those who will best defend their interests. And national unity and democratic stability are what we cannot do without today.

And finally, his position is strengthened by the opposition itself, because it has shown that there are no leaders in its ranks who could rival him. The opposition shows its lack of principles by trying to line up behind figures whose personal integrity and state functions they rudely rejected until recently. As a grand alternative they offer us the foreign policy of the federal prime minister, which has not only failed to yield tangible results, but is also being taken seriously less and less, even abroad. With increasing frequency, the federal president is forced to rectify his [Panic's] mistakes, while the great communicator has now shut himself off with foreign factors in a private, domestic tailor's shop, trying to take Titoist remnants and use the models of foreign fashion designers to cut out a new monarchist uniform. But naturally, being made out of such motley rags, it could resemble a clown's suit.